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ICONOGRAPHY

OF

BUDDHIST AND BRAHMANICAL SCULPTURES IN THE DACCA MUSEUM

BY

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With Preface by Mr. H. E. Stapleton, M. A., B. Sc., I. E. S. Director of Public Instruction, Bengal ; and with 83 plates, containing 10 collotype and 146 half-tone illustrations and one map.

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PREFACE.

It is always a satisfaction to be privileged to assist in the completion of any noteworthy piece of work: and when this work has been carried out in surroundings with which the person invited to participate has in the past himself been intimately connected, the pleasure is all the greater. The request of the Secretary to the Dacca Museum Committee for a preface to this *Catalogue raisonnee* of the Sculptures in the Dacca Museum carries the thoughts of the writer back to the early days of the newly formed Presidency of Bengal when, with the generous co-operation of His Excellency the late Lord Carmichael, he was able to obtain the sanction of the local Government to the restoration and handing over to a Committee, of the Audience Chamber (*Baradwari)* and adjoining Gatehouse of the former Nawabs of Dacca for the purpose of establishing a Museum in which the relics of the past that were then being (and still continue to be) discovered in the 2 Eastern Divisions of the Presidency could be permanently preserved. Inspite of difficulties of all sorts, the Museum has continued to grow in popularity and usefulness to students: and the present volume, the first to be issued by the Museum authorities, furnishes ample proof of the wisdom of Lord Carmichael's Government in agreeing to the establishment of a separate Museum for Eastern Bengal.

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī's labour of love has been so thoroughly performed that little more remains to be done but to draw the attention of historians, as well as of all students of the Art and Religion of India, to the great store of new facts that are contained in the volume now under consideration. Specialists in this branch of recondite learning may not be able to agree with every one of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī's identifications in what must still be regarded as a comparatively uncharted field of research. Jambhala and Heruka, for example, instead of being separately

dealt with as Tutelary deities, would probably have been more fitly included with Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī as Bodhisattvas. The outstanding merit, however, of the book, which every one will cordially recognise, is the excellent series of sculptures that have been selected for reproduction. For the first time students are placed in possession of a unique collection of examples of the best period of religious Art of the Bengal school. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śastrī, C. I. E., the *doyen* of Sanskrit learning in Bengal, while discussing the proof sheets of the work with the present writer, quoted the saying of the 11th century Tibetan work *Pog-Sam-Zom-Zam* : "In Painting and Sculpture, Bengalis excel : next follow the Newars : then come the Tibetans : and lastly the Chinese". To Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī belongs the rare merit of having brought together a large number of Sculptures of the Bengali school, especially of the 11th century : and the service he has thus done for the infant science of Iconography alone, quite apart from the important historical bearing of his enquiries, deserves the highest commendation from all lovers of the past.

Calcutta, July, 12, 1929. H. E. STAPLETON.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

1. Inception of the present work.

In July 1918, Mr. J. T. Rankin, a keen student of history, came to Dacca as the Commissioner of the Dacca Division and he, as the ex-officio President of the Dacca Museum Committee, began to take an active interest in the affairs of the Dacca Museum. Several pieces of sculpture and a number of important coins were added to the collections of the Dacca Museum within a short time, thanks to Mr. Rankin's exertions. By 1920, the sculptures in our collection had grown to such an extent that Mr. Rankin conceived the idea of publishing a Descriptive Catalogue of them and asked me to take the work on hand. He also actively set about collecting funds for the purpose and was soon able to earmark a considerable sum for the publication. During the whole of 1920 and the greater part of 1921, I was engaged in writing the work, which by degrees grew from the first humble design of a Descriptive Catalogue into the more ambitious attempt of an iconographical and sculptural survey of Eastern Bengal, corresponding to the ancient kingdoms of Vaṅga and Samataṭa.

2. The Buddhist and the Brahmanical Sections.

In February, 1921, when the Buddhist part of the work was ready, Monsieur Foucher was acting as the Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum. On a request from the authorities of the Dacca Museum, he readily consented to revise the part and I was sent to Calcutta to go through the part with him. His revision was of very great help in effecting some improvements and in removing some errors and the author will ever remain grateful to him for his assistance.

In the meantime, the Dacca University had been inauguerated and Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī had come to Dacca as its Professor of Sanskrit. His son Babu Binayatoṣa Bhaṭṭāchāryya came with him and, as a Government Research Scholar, began to study Buddhist Iconography with the help of original sources under the direction of his learned father. He, with the help of M. M. Śāstrī obtained several Mss. of a Buddhist work called *Sādhanamālā*, which is a compendium of *Sādhanās*, or tracts on the worship of the Buddhist deities. These *Sādhanās* invariably cite an invocation of the deity to be worshipped, giving details of the shape in which he or she is to be

conceived by the worshipper. It is upon these *Sādhanās* that the sculptor worked and produced images in stone and metal, and the identification of an image becomes sure, as soon as we can find out its exact *Sādhanā*. Binay Babu first engaged himself in collating the Mss. of *Sādhanamālā* obtained by him and preparing a reliable text. He then sat down to write a work on Buddhist Iconography and it is a matter for self-congratulation that I, with my practical acquaintance with samples of Bengal sculpture lying scattered throughout Bengal, especially in Eastern Bengal, was able to be of some help to Binay Babu in furnishing him with specimens to illustrate his book. To Binay Babu, on the other-hand, I am indebted for the identification of Heruka (P. 36), the *Sādhanā* of which, along with the *Sādhanā* of some other deities, Binay Babu kindly permitted me to quote in the present work from his collated text.

The sculptors of Bengal were prolific producers, but not a single Ms. of a Śilpa-Śāstra that, as in Southern India, used to serve as hand-books to the artists, has yet been discovered from Bengal. The various *Tantras* occupy the same place in the Brahmanical system of worship as works like Sādhanamālā do in the Buddhistic and I naturally turned to them in working out the Brahmanical portion of the present work. In the course of my studies, however, I was often struck by the fact that the images found in Bengal do not exactly conform to the *Dhyānas* or invocations that we meet with in the Tantras at present current in Bengal. (*Vide* remarks on pages 128, 188). Besides Tantras, I have utilised some of the Purāṇas and the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* of Barāha-mihira and many other Brahmanical works. With the progress of inquiry and with the amount of labour bestowed, some of the introductory essays to classes of images described grew somewhat long, while those images that did not provoke inquiry have been introduced to the readers with short introductions.

3. Printing and Plates.

The manuscript of the work was sent to press in 1923, and all the disadvantages of having to print a work of this nature from a mofussil press with very limited resources, and possessing only a limited quantity of diacritical types, and that even in one class of types only, have gone against expedition in getting the work published. Sometimes six proofs had to be corrected one after another before a forme could be ordered to be finally printed. Almost

all the pictures illustrating the work are from photographs prepared by the author himself and photos of some rare specimens had to be obtained from inaccessible and distant villages at much trouble and expenses. Ten of the best samples have been reproduced by Meisenbach Riffarth & Co. of Berlin by the Collotype process. The rest have been reproduced by the Half-tone process by the Indian Photo-engraving Company of Calcutta.

4. Scope of the Work.

The present work is practically an iconographical Survey of Eastern Bengal,—of what was anciently known as Vaṅga and Samataṭa. The nucleus of the series described is of course the collection in the Dacca Museum, obtained mostly from places within the limits of these two ancient and far-famed seats of civilisation and culture. But as the collection in the Dacca museum is very small in comparison with the vast number of images that still lie scattered in the villages of Eastern Bengal, more often in utter neglect than not, it was considered desirable to notice the more important of them under the appropriate sections. These notices have always been given in consecutive numbers, within square-brackets, after the notice of the images in the Dacca Museum collection. This plan has also been followed with regard to the images which were originally discovered in Eastern Bengal, but which now find resting places in collections outside its limits. Images discovered from places outside the limits of ancient Vaṅga and Samataṭa have been, in a few cases, referred to and illustrated where it was found necessary to do so to illustrate a new type or to prove a point. Vajra Tārā from Pātharghāṭā (p. 45-49), the Mother-and-Child image from Khetlāl (p. 138.), the Mother-and-Child image in the Nāhār collection, Calcutta, (p. 140), Sarasvatī in the Lucknow Museum, (p. 187), Chāmuṇḍā from Aṭṭahāsa, (p. 211), Manasā in the Indian Museum (p. 219) and Manasā from Śīlghāṭ, are instances.

It should, however, be remembered, that in noticing images outside the collection in the Dacca Museum, the author could recall only those images which had come under his personal observation, and their number is only a very small fraction of the images that actually exist. It would require a life-time's touring to get acquainted with each considerable village in this vast area of about 22000 square miles.

5. History of the Dacca Museum collection of Bengal Sculptures.

In July, 1912, a conversazione was held in the North-brook Hall, Dacca, with a view to explore the possibilities of starting a Museum. This was attended by Lord Carmichael, the then Governor of Bengal and numerous exhibits were gathered together from various parts of Eastern Bengal. When the conversazione was over, most of these things were taken back by their owners, but a few sculptures were left behind. When in July 1914, I was appointed to take over charge, there were six such images and these formed the nucleus of the collection. In the course of my first tour in 1914, I was able, with the help of Rāi Rameśa Chandra Guha Bāhādur of Bajrayoginī and Babu Jagadīśakumāra Majumdār of Pāikpāḍā to add eight more images to the collection. In the course of my second tour in 1915, with the kind help of the late Babu Anukūla Chandra Roy, Manager of the Wards' Estates, and Babu Tārāpada Basu, I was able to add a fresh number of important images,—and thus the collection grew apace. This prosperity lasted only for two years, after which period, Government order limiting our grant to Rs 3000/- annually, was received. Thenceforward, up till the present time, it has not been possible to undertake any serious or long-continued tour of exploration and collection and the short tours undertaken have been of the nature of swoops to collect specimens, following up sure informations.

I must gratefully acknowledge here that I am indebted for information regarding some specimens to my friend Babu Upendra Chandra Guha, B. A., B. T., who was one of the pioneer workers in the field and who ungrudgingly handed over to me for use his rich collection of photographs of images, got together at much trouble and expenses. Some of the illustrations printed in this book are reproductions of Upendra Babu's photographs.

6. Other collections of Bengal Sculpture.

It is necessary, for the assistance of inquirers, to notice all the existing collections of Bengal sculpture.

1. The collection in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajsahi. This is undoubtedly the richest collection existing. Thanks to the unremitting attention and the ungrudging expenditure of Kumār Śarat Kumāra Roy of Dīghāpātiyā (Rajsahi), the

untiring zeal and industry of Babu Akṣaya Kumāra Maitreya, C. I. E., Rai Ramāprasād Chanda Bāhādur, Prof. Radhā Gobinda Basāk, M. A. and a number of other scholars, the Society succeeded, within a short time, in forming a very representative collection. The collection represents mostly images found in Northern Bengal, but through the assistance of Babu Jogendra Nātha Gupta, the Society was able, before the Dacca Museum was started, to secure several important specimens from Eastern Bengal also, the gem of them being the image of Ardhanārīśvara from Purāpāḍā—(Plate LII). A bare catalogue of this collection was compiled in English by Professor Radhā Govinda Basak, M. A., and Dīneśa Chandra Bhaṭṭāchāryya, M. A. in 1919 and published with poor printing and illustrations. A good descriptive catalogue, well-printed and illustrated, is very much to be desired and Kumar Bahadur's munificence, we trust, will defer the realization of the project to no distant date.

2. The collection in the Museum of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta. It is a rich collection and has been ably described (1922) in a neatly printed and illustrated Demy Octavo Volume in English of 146 pages and 27 plates, by the late lamented Scholar Mr. Monomohana Gāṅgulī, author of—"Orissa and her Remains."

3. The collection in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The collection of Bengal sculptures in this Imperial Museum is insignificant, but is improving under the care of its present Superintendent, Rai Ramāprasād Chanda Bāhādur.

4. The Nāhār collection, 45, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta. There are a few images of the Bengal School.

5. The collection in the Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat. A few important specimens.

6 Do. in the Dāccā Sāhitya Pariṣat. The collection was made chiefly by Babu Birendra Nātha Basu and myself. A few important specimens.

7. Do. in the Comilla Branch of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat. Mostly made by the late lamented Babu Anukūla Chandra Roy and at present lying uncared for at his residence.

Some private collections may also be noticed. The collection at the house of Babu Indra Kumāra Majumdār at Ouṭsāhī, P. S. Taṅgivāḍī, District Daçca ; that at the house of Rai Rameśa Chandra Guha Bāhādur of Bajrayoginī, P. S. Munsiganj, District Dacca ; that at the Vaiṣṇava monastery at Ābdullāpur, P. S. Taṅgivāḍī, District Dacca ; the collection in the Dacca Collectorate Compound and the collection at Jīban Babu's

garden, Dacca, deserve mention. The last one was merged into the collection of the Dacca Museum, having been presented to it by Sj. Kṛṣṇadāsī Chaudhurāṇī, Jīban Babu's grand-daughter. (Vide P. 81). All the above collections have been thoroughly noticed in this book. The last two collections were formed by the late Babu Vaikuṇṭha Nātha Sena of Sonārañg, for a long time Deputy Inspector of Schools in Eastern Bengal. In the course of his tours, he often came across these finds and did all he could to obtain them and place them in some safe place in the town. In the midst of such widespread apathy and callousness, it is refreshing to find that there was at least one man in the last seventies who took more than a passing interest in these treasures of a lost art of Bengal. Vaikuṇṭha Babu and his collection has been mentioned several times in this book. (Vide P. 33, 81, 88, 109, 170, 202 etc.).

7. How and where these images are found.

It will surprise many of my readers to know that almost all of these images are chance finds in stray diggings. With the creation of an Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, Bengal is receiving some share of its attention and some serious, though small, excavations have been undertaken in Bengal within the last few years. But formerly, Bengal was left severely alone. Some private excavations, were, however, undertaken and they have been referred to in this book. So, it is desirable here to describe these operations briefly.

The most serious of these was the **Raghurampur Excavations.** Raghurāmpur is a hamlet south-west of Rāmpāl, the site of the capital of the Senas, situated under the Munsiganj Police station of the Dacca District. Babu Pareśa Chandra Mahalānabis, of Pañchasār, near Munsiganj, was struck by the configuration of a spot at Raghurāmpur lying between two tanks. He gave out that he had learnt from astrological calculations that the spot contained buried treasure and, after getting the consent of the owner, he began excavation there in January, 1913. He asked for and obtained Police protection and the excavation went on for some months in a most desultory and half-hazard manner. No treasure was found, but from one of the tanks, a number of images and other objects of antiquarian interest were dug up, all of which were presented by the finder to the newly-started Dacca Museum. They have all been described in this book in proper places.

The next excavation of importance was carried out at **Sabhar**, the site of an ancient city, situated at the confluence of the Baṁśavatī

(Baṁśai) and the Dhaleśvarī rivers, about 17 miles north-west of Dacca. Numerous tanks at Sābhār, a number of mounds which frequently yield gold coins of the post-Gupta type (Vide author's article in the Numismatic Supplement to the J, A. S. B. Article 239, 1923 and 249, 1925) and the discovery of terra-cotta pieces stamped with the figures of the Bodhisattvas in different *āsanas* from the ruins, mark the place out as one of considerable antiquity and importance. A group of five mounds there by the side of a dried up water-course is known by the name of Rājāsan. In 1913, Babu Harendra Nātha Ghoṣa, Headmaster of the local High School, at the instance of and with the money furnished by Mr. H. E. Stapleton, the then Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division, and the first Honorary Secretary to the Dacca Museum Committee, commenced excavation at one of the mounds at Rājāsan, which had, in the past, yielded terra-cottas as described above, on casual turning up of the soil by the ploughmen. Not more than Rs 100/- was spent on the venture, but a few splendid specimens of terra-cotta slabs of the above description were found and ultimately deposited in the Dacca Museum.

It may be mentioned here that the Rājāsan mounds were fully excavated by the Archaeological Survey in 1926, but nothing beyond a few terra-cotta slabs stamped with the figures of the Bodhisattvas was found. In refilling the site, however, Mr. K. N. Dikshit, the Superintendent of the Eastern Circle, found a clay figure of Viṣṇu inscribed with the words *Bhagavate Vāsudevāya*. With this may be compared the terra-cotta seal, also from Sābhār, described on page 83 of this book, which was also inscribed and had a figure of Viṣṇu in a style bespeaking very considerable antiquity. These inscribed figures, the discovery of post-Gupta gold coins, the use of terra-cotta and the total absence of stone, point to the 7th — 8th century A. D., as the age of the ruins of Sābhār.

Old temple-sites abound in the villages round Rāmpāl, the Sena capital of Bengal, and they are locally known as the *Deuls*. There is a *deul* in the village of Dhīpur under the Taṅgivāḍī Police station and in 1916, casual excavation laid bare a parallel pair of walls on the site. On representation from some influential villagers headed by Babu Jaganmohana Sarkār, Retired Sub-Judge, the Dacca Museum Committee undertook to excavate the site and I was placed in charge of the operations. The excavation began on the last day of 1916 and continued throughout the months of January and February, 1917. Foundation of three square buildings lying side by side and a continuous line of wall facing them were exposed, when the excavation had to be

discontinued for lack of funds. One of the square buildings contained a human skeleton, lying north and south,—the building evidently was erected over his remains. The next one yielded two big earthen jars from beneath the floor level, but both of them were found to be empty. Two image-rests of black stone and a few carved pieces of wood from the tank adjacent, were all that were worthy of being removed to the Dacca Museum.

The *deuls* and the ditches round them are the places from which images usually turn up on casual excavation. No one has yet undertaken a census of these old sites round Rāmpāl, the ancient capital of Bengal, but I personally know of more than thirty such sites in the few villages of the locality, I have thorough acquaintance with. Not one of them has yet been systematically explored and the exploration of the Dhīpur Deul, as narrated above, had to be left off unfinished for lack of funds. But that some of them are promising sites will appear from a recital of the list of objects found from the *deul* at Sonāraṅg. A huge image of the sun-god found near the *deul* is now to be seen attached to the wall of the courtyard of a *math* (a memorial structure with a tall spire, visible from a long distance) a little to the west of the *deul*. A stone door-sill from the tank on the north of the Deul, a pillar-capital of finely carved wood of extraordinary solidity, a pillar of granite stone 2′ square at the base and 17′ 4½″ in height (see *infra*, pages 228, 229) all hail from this site and all were discovered on casual excavation. A square block of sand-stone with the figures of four *Gaṇas* on the four faces, such as are usually placed on the floor to support pillars, was also found on this site and taken to the adjacent village.

These old sites round Rāmpāl are the most prolific find-spots of objects of antiquarian interest. This city, at the time of its highest glory, covered an area of about 15 square miles and the configuration is an interesting study. The site was bounded on the north by the river Ichhāmatī, which, in its lower course, has now completely merged itself into what was probably once its tributary, the Dhaleśvarī river. In Rennel's Atlas (1781 A. D.) and even in the Main Circuit Survey Map of 1859, the combined waters of the Ichhāmatī and the Dhaleśvarī are marked as Ichhāmatī But now the name is practically lost and only Dhaleśvarī is known. A long line of wall running east-west by the southern bank of what was once the Ichhāmatī river is even now to be found in places in the village of Ābdullāpur, and old people still say that it was the southern bund of the Ichhāmatī river.

The eastern boundary was the great Brahmaputra river, two distinct old beds of which still exist. The one which formed the eastern boundary of Rāmpāl, or, to give it its official name, Śrī Vikramapura, is undoubtedly the oldest course of this mighty river. This course and its northern continuation across the intruding Dhaleśvarī are still held sacred and are still the favourite bathing resort of lakhs and lakhs of pilgrims every year on a particular holy day. How vast this course once was can easily be perceived by following the dried up course on any modern 1″ map and observing the extent of the villages on either side with the suffix '*Char*', which signifies an alluvial formation.

The western and the southern sides of the quadrangle bounding the old city were formed by two artificial canals, now known respectively as the *Mirkādim Khāl* and the *Mākuhāṭi Khāl*, from the two important marts at their extremities, on the Ichhāmatī and the Brahmaputra respectively.

The royal palace, the site of which is still very well-marked, was situated at the middle of the northern part of the site, about a mile and a quarter south from the river bank. The ditch surrounding the citadel was about 1300 feet square and about 200 feet broad. The citadel itself was about 900 feet square. The entrance was from the east by a causeway, about 300 feet broad. The main thoroughfare of the City, passed by the western bank of the western moat of the citadel and it still exists as a broad embanked road, running south from the bank of the old bed of the Ichhāmatī and dividing the whole area into two nearly equal halves. Many other roads started from this main road and ran to the extremities of this area and beyond. Remains of many of these roads can still be traced. They have mostly been, however, covered by the present-day District Board and Local Board roads. The main thoroughfare is still known at the southern end by the name of *Kāchki Darjā*. In the Main Circuit Map of 1859, a place on its northern end is designated *Kapāl Duār* and this may have been also the name by which the northern end of the road was known. The map of this site reproduced here is an enlarged copy of this map, and the surveyors of those days had the good sense to survey the numerous lake-like tanks on this site and show their position on the map,—a very useful feature which all the modern maps have dropped. The site on which Śrī-Vikramapura was founded is alluvial and a glance at the position and size of these tanks at once makes it clear how the earth from these tanks was used to raise the general level of the site for the foundation of a city. The tract round

Rāmpāl still remains much above the high-water-mark in the rainy season, while the country around is innundated and submerged.

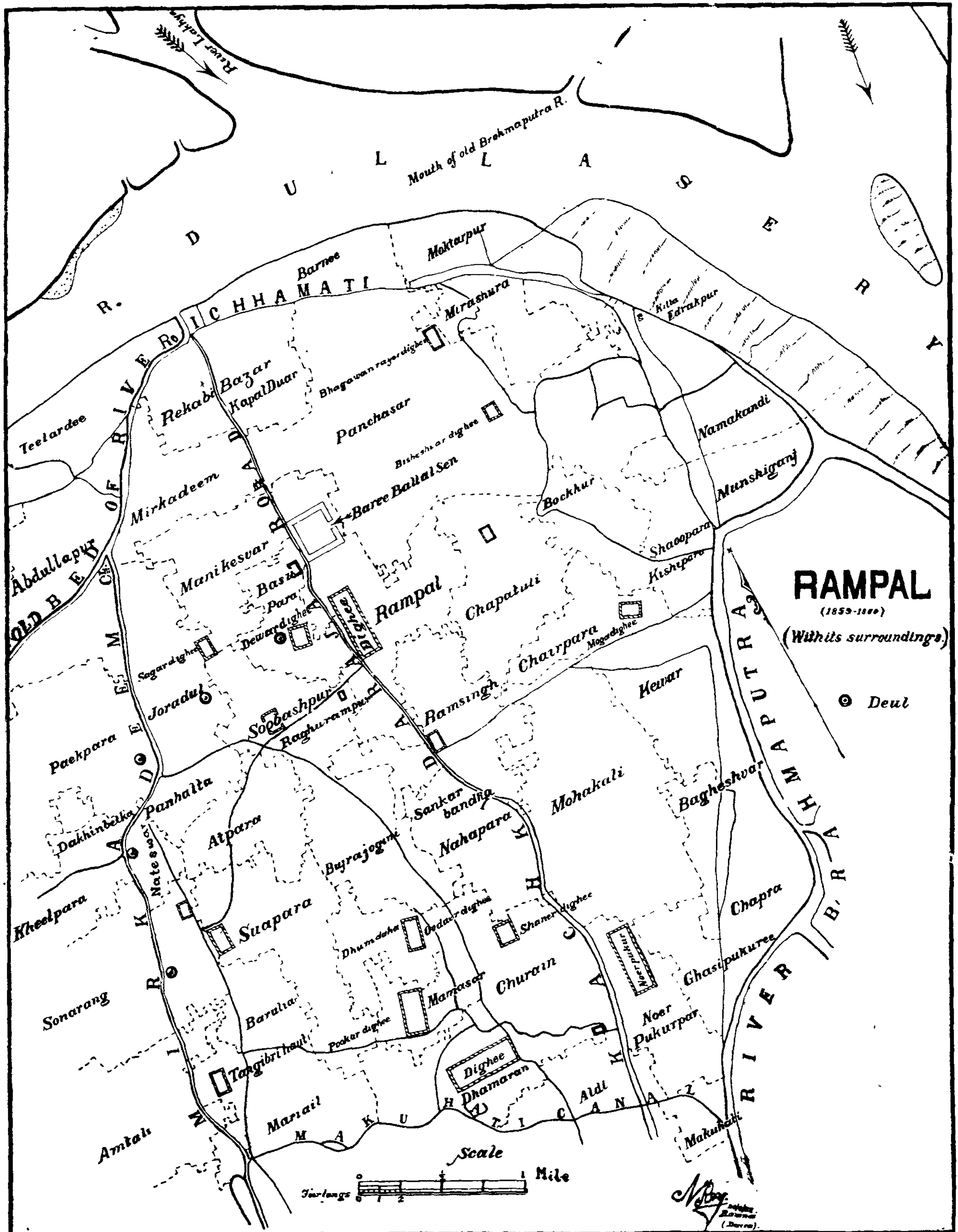
The size of some of the tanks or *Dīghis* is indeed very remarkable. Here are the approximate measurements of some of them, according to the Main Circuit Map.

The Great Rāmpāl Tank—2200 ft. x 840 ft.
Dhāmāran Tank—2200 ft. x 800 ft. (East-West)
Nai's Tank—2000 ft. x 700 ft.
Māmāsār Tank—1400 ft. x 600 ft.
Dhāmdaha Tank—1100 ft. x 500 ft.
Sukhabāspur Tank—900 ft. x 500 ft.
Shāner Dighī at Churāin—700 ft. x 700 ft.
Deoār Dighī, just west of the Great Tank at Rāmpāl—
800 ft. x 800 ft.
Suāpāḍā Tank—700 ft. x 500 ft.
Taṅgīvāḍī Tank—700 ft. x 500 ft.
Maghā Dīghi at Chārpāḍā—700 ft. x 700 ft.

Tanks of lesser, yet considerable size in this area are too numerous to be mentioned or shown on the map.

The whole area of the villages of Rāmpāl, Sukhabāspur, Bajrayoginī, Nāhāpāḍā, Joḍādeul, Kāzikasbā, Mirkādim, Mānikeśvar, Pānām, Chandantalā, Kāgajīpāḍā, Murmā, Nagarkasbā, Goālghuni* Rekābībāzār, Firiṅgībāzār and Pañchasār is divided into countless homesteads of raised lands surrounded by ditches. There is less congestion towards the south, where wide areas of cultivable fields intervene. From the tanks and the ditches of these old homesteads,—now fertile sugar-cane, plantain or betel-leaf plantations,—stone images very often turn up on casual excavation. Very valuable finds are also reported from this area. Taylor in his Topography of Dacca records the find of a diamond at the entrance of the royal palace, worth Rs. 70,000 (about £ 5500) and of a golden scabbard. I personally know of several cases of the find of Treasure. A book of 24 thick golden leaves bound together by a copper wire was found from the Dhāmdaha tank and melted down. A copper vessel full of treasure was found in the Deul at Sonāraṅg. The finder went to Calcutta to dispose of his find secretly, fell into the clutches of swindlers and lost everything, and was brought home, a raving lunatic.

* The six villages named after Manikesvar are not shown on the map. They are hamlets included in the villages of Jodadeul, Manikesvar, Mirkadim and Rekabibazar.


RAMPAL
(1859-1860)
(With its surroundings.)
Deul
Scale
Mile
Furlongs
Mouth of old Brohmaputra R.
River Lakhya
R. DULLASERY
R. ICHHAMATI
OLD BED OF RIVER
OLD BED OF R. BRAHMAPUTRA
RIVER BRAHMAPUTRA
MIRKADIM ROAD
MIRKADIM CH.
DUARDA KHAL
MAKUHATI CANAL
Teelardee
Abdullapur
Barnee
Moktarpur
Mirashura
Killa Edrakpur
Rekabi Bazar
Kapal Duar
Bhagawan rayer dighee
Panchasar
Bisheshvar dighee
Namakandi
Munshiganj
Mirkadeem
Baree Ballal Sen
Bockhur
Shaoopara
Kishipara
Manikesvar
Basu Para
Rampal
Dighee
Chapatuli
Dewandighee
Sagardighee
Chairpara
Mogadighee
Joradul
Soobashpur
Raghurampur
Ramsingh
Kewar
Paekpara
Panhatta
Sankar bandha
Mohakali
Dakhinbetka
Atpara
Nahapara
Bagheshvar
Nateswar
Bajrajogini
Kheelpara
Suapara
Dhumdeha
Dedair dighee
Shaner dighee
Chapra
Noer pukur
Sonarang
Mamasar
Churain
Ghasipukuree
Baraha
Pookar dighee
Noer Pukurpar
Tangibri haut
Dighee
Dhamaran
Aldi
Amtali
Mariail
Makuhati

Fifteen solid bricks of gold were found at Pañchasār and secretly disposed of. The silver image of Viṣṇu, (P. 84) came from the Deul at Churāin, from which also hails the splendid pedestal of the image of Naṭarāja. (P. 115).

A very curious feature of these old town-sites is that though the towns themselves have disappeared long ago, a very small portion of the areas, mostly inhabited by the wealthy and pre-eminently conservative trading class of the *Sāhā* community, still resembles a town in congestion and in the wealth of brick-buildings, as if the towns themselves have gradually dwindled down to those small areas. These remnants of the old towns generally resemble a narrow street of a town, with buildings on both sides standing close to each other. Such squalid streets are still to be found in Dacca and these remnants of the old cities have a curious family resemblance to these streets. The remnant of Rampal is known as Nagar-Kasbā. *Nagar* means a city, while *Kasbā*, a Persian word, has also the same meaning. Close, to the south is Kazi-Kasbā. The suffix *Kasbā* possibly bears memory of the fact that the site was occupied by the Muslims for some time and the juxtaposition of the two names Nagar-Kasbā and Kazi-Kasbā would suggest that the part of the town occupied by the Muslim officials was known by the latter name, whereas, the part occupied by the civil population was known by the former. A mosque built in memory of the first Muslim adventurer and martyr Bābā Ādam stands at Kazi-Kasbā and was built in 888 Hijri = 1483 A. D.

The ruins of an old city at Sābhār has already been referred to. There also, by the river side, the remnant of the old city is still to be found. With the fall of Rāmpāl, the capital was transferred to Sonārgāon, only about three miles north of the site of Rāmpāl, across the river. There, the remnant of the old city goes by the name of Pānām, —a veritable bit of a town, surrounded by a moat and with a brick-bridge at the entrance,—inhabited by a very wealthy and exclusive body of *Sāhās*.

Sābhār was a city, nearly 1200 years ago. Rāmpāl, or Śrī-Vikrampura was a city about 700 years ago, while Sonārgaon ceased to be a place of importance only about 300 years ago with the rise of Dāccā. No Hindu structure equally old can be pointed out on the remnants of Sābhār, Rāmpāl and Sonārgāon, respectively. Such, however, has always been the fate of civil buildings. In this three-hundred-years-old town of Dacca, it is difficult to point to any civil building as being three hundred years old. The *terra-cottas* from Sābhār and the stone

images from Rāmpāl, however, bear unmistakable evidence of their age, while a number of old mosques with inscriptions and other ruins about Pānām point to the area where the town was situated.

8. An idea of the temples that were erected over these images.

Thrown into the nearest tank or ditch, at the time of the Muslim invasion, the images were saved to posterity. The art perished, but the productions of art were saved to some extent in this way. But a different fate altogether overtook the temples which were above ground and which thus provided a ready target for the iconoclastic fury of the invaders. The destruction has been so complete that there is not a single temple standing throughout the length and breadth of Bengal which can be pointed out as Pre-Muhammadan in age.*

It would, however, be unfair to lay the entire blame for the disappearance of these temples at the doors of the invaders. Temples are, as a rule, founded by rich people and to keep them in proper repairs is their own private concern. Prosperity, as is well-known, is ever fickle, and where the grandfather lavished mints of money on the erection of temples, the grandson is very often found unable, owing to rapid decline in forturne, even to defray the expenses of their repairs. The result can very easily be calculated. Within a generation, the magnificent temples were over-grown with *pipal* trees. The roots of the trees themselves held the different parts of the structures together for another generation or two. And then a great storm would blow down the trees and the temples would be converted into a heap of crumbling ruins in the process. Bengal temples were almost entirely made of bricks and when left in neglect, their destruction was only a question of time. Stone structures do not perish so easily. This fact and the fact that Orissa was independent even up to the middle of the 16th century, have been the saving of the magnificent temples of that country.

There is evidence, however, that in some of the more important temples of Bengal, stone was also employed. The magnificent stone pillar recovered from the ruins of the Sonāraṅg Deul, the square block of stone, with the figures of *Gaṇas* on its four faces, also from the

* Temples and old buildings that were already in ruins, when the Muhammadans came, like the newly exacavated great temple at Pahadpur, were probably hiddden in their own ruins and thus provide a few exceptions.

same Deul, which undoubtedly served as the base for a stone-pillar, the stone door-sill cut into steps, also from the same Deul, show that stone must have largely entered into the composition of this particular temple. The pillar brought to the Dacca Museum was discovered on chance excavation. Possibly some more stone pillars may be found, if the site is thoroughly explored.

Some stone pillars are found supporting the arches of some pre-Mughal mosques of the District, viz : the mosque of Bābā Ādam at Rāmpāl, the Āhmad Śāhī mosque at Majumpur, north of Sonārgāon, and Bābā Sāleh's mosque at Bandar, opposite Nārāyāṇganj. There is reason to surmise that these pillars were probably taken from demolished Hindu shrines. The pillars of Bābā Ādam's mosque are worn smooth with age and some marks appear on their surfaces, which look like ancient Brāhmī characters. During my tours in the Dinājpur District in 1913, I came across the ruins of what must once have been a magnificent stone temple. These ruins are situated about half a mile west of the famous mile-long tank at the village of Tapan, about 7 miles south of the head-quarters of the Gaṅgārāmpur Police Station, located practically on the vast ruins of the old city of Devkoṭ or Koṭivarṣa. The ruins at Tapan are locally known as Pāthar-puñjā or *Heaped-up stones* and well they deserve the name. The temple was situated on a small tank which has practically been filled up with the various component parts of a stone temple, which lie in profusion on its banks, and also project out of water. The main temple-site is marked by a conical crumbling heap full of chips of stone. The site, which is not a very big one, certainly deserves a thorough exploration by the Archaeological Survey. In the ruins of the old city of Devkoṭ itself, the main temple of Śiva, converted into a *Dargāh* by the desecrators, was probably of stone. Several stone pillars stand in *situ* and stone is to be found in great abundance on the site.

Extant example of a stone building is furnished by the stone mosque at Kuśumbā, 33 miles north of the Headquarters of the Rajsahi District, which "is built almost entirely of stones of different varieties, most of which seem to have been obtained from the remains of desecrated Hindu temples in the neighbourhood." (R. A. S. I. 1923-24, P. 33).

But stone was always very difficult to obtain in Bengal and had to be imported at great expenses from the Rājmahal Hills, the nearest quarry. Brick, therefore, has always been the chief material for building construction in Bengal. In the absence of concrete examples of the

art of the pre-Muhammadan builders, we must turn to their few representations, which may be met with on stones and paintings of the period. I should first refer to the representations found on the illustrations printed in this volume.

Plate I. a, illustrates the god Lokanātha standing inside a plain temple with a hut-roof of the Bengal style, with a verandah on either side. It is doubtful whether this is a brick-building at all. The temple represented on plate II. a, is a flat-roofed ordinary building, with cornice and parapets. It has hardly any claim to architectural beauty.

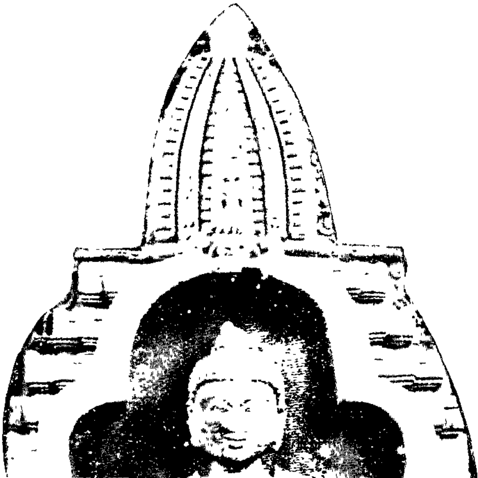
Foucher's Iconographie Bouddhique, vol. I, Plate III, 4, illustrates *Triśaraṇa Buddha-Bhaṭṭāraka* of Pauṇḍra-vardhana inside a temple, which may be taken to represent a type of the Pre-Muhammadan temples of Bengal,—of course assuming that the artist represented a type that was actually current in Bengal. The temple represented is one of the *Bhadra* type surmounted by a *Sikhara* of the *Rekhā* type. It must be noted, however, that the *Piḍas* or terraces forming the roof of the *Bhadra* portion are more pronounced than those in Orissan temples and appear almost like stories. (Plate LXXXI. a.)

It is difficult to believe that such a hybrid type really existed in Bengal, as such a curious mixture of the *Bhadra* and the *Rekhā* types seems almost an architectural impossibility at first sight. The possibility that this type represents a class of temples that really existed in Bengal becomes stronger as we scrutinise the image of Buddha in Dhyāna-Mudrā found at the village of Mahākālī in Dacca District, Plate IX—b. Here also, the temple represented is of the Bhadra type with a roof of high receding terraces surmounted by a *Rekhā śikhara.* (Plate LXXXI—b). The two pillars supporting the trefoil arch under which Buddha sits are almost exact copies of the pillar from Sonāraṅg illustrated on Plate LXXV, a. A variety of this type again is seen in the image of Arapachana Mañju-śrī from Bengal, illustrated on plate LXXI, 229 of Coomarswamy's 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art'. Here the temple represented is evidently of the above type, but the main *śikhara* of the *rekhā* type is surrounded by five more spires shaped like Buddhist Chaityas, rising from the two Pīḍas or steps of the roof. (Plate LXXXI, c).

In scrutinising these representations of the terrace-roofed *śikhara*-topped temples of Bengal, we are at once reminded of similar temples in Burma, at Prome and Pagān. The general plan of these temples is described by Fergusson, (Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II,



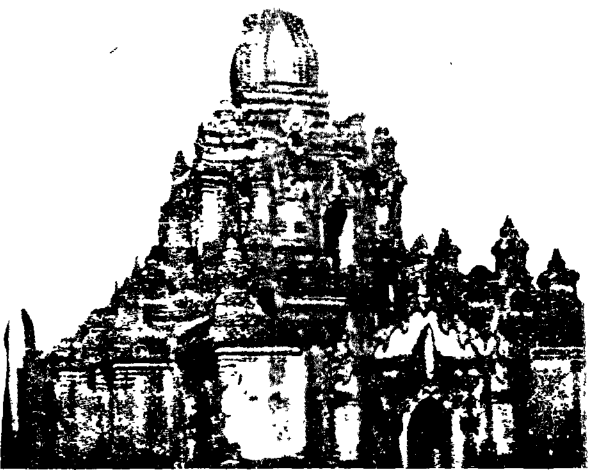
(c) Temple over Arapachana.



(b) Temple over the Mahākālī Buddha.



(a) Temple over the Buddha of Pauṇḍravardhana.



(d) Thitsawada temple of Pagān.



(e) Ānanda temple of Pagān.

Page 360, Edition of 1910). They are square in area, and some have projecting porticos on one or more of their faces. The roof rises in three or more diminishing terraces and is finally crowned by a *śikhara.* The origin of these Burmese temples has hitherto been an object of wild speculation. Fergusson wanted to trace the origin to Babylonia (II, P. 365) but he was not blind to the fact that it was a "more probable explanation to say that such monuments may have existed in the great Gangetic cities, but........have perished, as they would be sure to do in that climate and where hostile races succeeded the Buddhists." He also recognised that Burma had greater affinities with Bengal and Northern India than with anywhere else. (II, 365).

In the report of the Director-General of Archæological Survey for 1913-14, Mr. C. Duroiselle wanted to derive the name of the Ānanda temple from the Ananta Cave of Orissa and opined:—"There can be little doubt that the Ānanda and the other temples of Pagān in the same style are imitations of the Cave temples of India." In the Superintendent's Report of the Burma Circle for 1913-14, the origin was ascribed to Northern India. (Para 43—P. 16). In the Report for 1917-18, the temples of Pagān were classified under 12 types of which type IX included terrace-roofed *śikhara*-topped temples like Ānanda, Sulaimani, (Plate LXXXII, a) Thitsawada (Plate LXXXI, d) etc. They are here, again, declared to have been fashioned after South-Indian models. (Para 46, P. 18). It will thus appear that the origin of this particular type which culminated in the magnificent Ananda temple (Plate—LXXXI, e) of Pagān built by about 1090 A. D. (R. A. S. I. 1913-14. P. 64) is yet shrouded in mystery. The representations of similar temples on Bengal miniature paintings and stone images should finally set at rest all controversy on the subject. It is now clear that the type was derived from Bengal, and it is the total disappearance of the prototypes which is responsible for the fanciful conjectures that have hitherto prevailed.

The origin of this Bengal type is probably to be traced to the terraced constructions of earth called *Dolmañchas* which are permanent appendages to every Bengali household. These square mounds of earth rise in two diminishing terraces to be finally capped by a cube. In the festival of *Doljātrā* or Holi, the images of Radhā and Kṛiṣṇa are placed in a miniature portable sanctuary over the cube and swung from an arch of decorated wooden frames placed on posts above the sanctuary.

The exclusive policy of the Archæological Department has prevented any definite knowledge about the recently excavated great temple of

Pāhāḍpur from reaching those who are most eagerly waiting for it ; but from scanty notices published hither and thither, it would appear that at last has been discovered, standing on the heart of Bengal, the long-lost prototype of the Ānanda temple of Pagān. In ground plan, this temple is square, but the porticos projecting from each face give it the shape of a curious cross. The ground plan of the Pāhāḍpur temple has also been likened by Sir John Marshall. (Illustrated London News, 29th January, 1927) to a Maltese cross. Ānanda temple is said to have been designed after the Nandamula Hill temple, from the refugees from which establishment King Kynzittha obtained details about this temple to serve as a model for his Ānanda temple. The suggestion is far-fetched but not improbable that Pāhāḍpur-Hill temple is the Nandamula Hill described by the refugees. The date of the construction of the Ānanda temple (1090 A. D.) corresponds to the date of the final extinction of the Buddhist Pala supremacy from North Bengal and Brahmanical Vijaya Sena's conquest of that region.

Plate XXV, a. illustrates three exactly similar *Bhadra* temples, topped by spacious *Āmalakas* like that of a *Rekhā* temple, which remind one of the Bhāskareśvara temple of Bhubaneśvara in Orissa, which has similar characteristics. (Vide. Ganguly's 'Orissa and her Remains'. Plate XV. a.)

The temples illustrated on Plates XIV and XLVIII. b. appear to be temples of very simple design, the former with the characteristics of a *Rekhā* temple and the latter with those of a *Bhadra* temple. A pure *Rekhā* is illustrated on Plate XXXV—II. a. over the goddess standing to the proper right.

The Siddheśvara temple at Bahulārā in the Bankura District is probably the finest specimen of a brick-built *Rekhā* temple of the mediaeval period now standing in Bengal (Plate LXXXII, b). Dr. Coomarswamy places the temple in the 10th Century A. D.[1] but does not mention authority, Mr. K. N. Dikshit, on the other hand, takes a more sober view and places the temple in the Pre-Mughal period.[2] It is impossible for an exposed brick structure of Bengal to survive the ravages of nine centuries.

That the type was continued for about a century more is evident from the existence of a few single-celled brick temples of the *Rekhā* type all over Bengal. Mention may be made of the Ichhāi Ghoṣa

* 1. History of Indian and Indonesian Art. Pl. LXIII. 213.
2. Annual Rep. of the Arch. Survey of India. 1921-22. P. 84, 1922-23 P, 59.

kind of fine-grained and rather hard slate stone, which I have called "black chlorite" throughout this work. From the analysis of stone used in Indian Sculpture published in Appendix E of Anderson's Catalogue of the Archæological collections in the Indian Museum, I find, however, that there are varieties even in this black stone and geologists have different scientific names for each variety, *viz.* Hornblende, Scist, Basalt, Dolomite, Chlorite Scist, etc. I have also heard the designation "consolidated-clay stone" given to the black stone used in Bengal Sculpture. Whatever may be the correct scientific name for this black stone, there is no doubt that this extremely weather-resisting and fine-grained stone was pre-eminently suitable for the purpose for which it was employed. Owing to fine non-crystalline grains, the stone lends itself to very minute carving and high polish and Bengal sculpture can easily be distinguished from that of the rest of India by the sharp clean-cut features of the figures and the oily finish of the whole piece. In durability also, this stone has hardly any peer. Among scores and scores of images that are found, there is not a single one that shows any trace of the passage of about seven hundred years and odd over them! They can easily be taken to have left the sculptor's hands only yesterday! Most of them, no doubt, owe their extraordinary preservation to their long immersion under loam and water, but not all stones would resist so wonderfully the corroding action of even these two elements. I am not in a position to judge whether the credit of discovering the wonderful suitability of this black stone for purposes of sculpture belongs to the Bengal sculptors, but nowhere else in India, I believe, was black stone so universally used for image-making purposes.

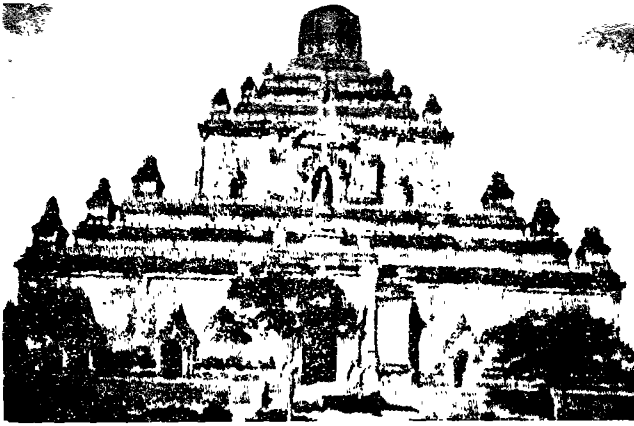
The nearest and the most easily accessible quarry of this variety of stone is said to be the Rājmahal Hills, just where the Ganges leaves Bihar and enters Bengal. Slabs big and small were quarried, loaded in boats and floated down the river and supplied to all the centres of the sculptor's art in Bengal. The vast number of images discovered in Bengal would testify to the vastness of the trade in Rājmahal stone that once used to flourish. One of the earliest specimens collected for the Dacca Museum, which the present writer has the happy remembrance, as a college student, of having helped to obatain, was a huge stone slab of this kind described on page 229 of this book (No. $\frac{4}{4}$). The remarks made there will bear repetition here. "This remarkable stone slab (11′ 5″ × 3′ × 10″) is rough on one side and quarry-dressed on the other by a series of thick and more or less parallel lines, running breadthwise. Slabs like the present one have often been discovered from the vicinity

of the *Deuls* of Vikrampur and the existence of some similar slabs are known, buried under the earth, near the *Deul* at Devasār (Dewār) east of Joḍādeul. An examination of the backs of the images in black chlorite stone reveals the interesting fact that similar parallel lines of quarry-dressing are to be found there on almost all of them. These slabs were evidently imported into Bengal for the purpose of the manufacture of images. The quarry-dressed side was left untouched while the rough side was carved into images in relief."

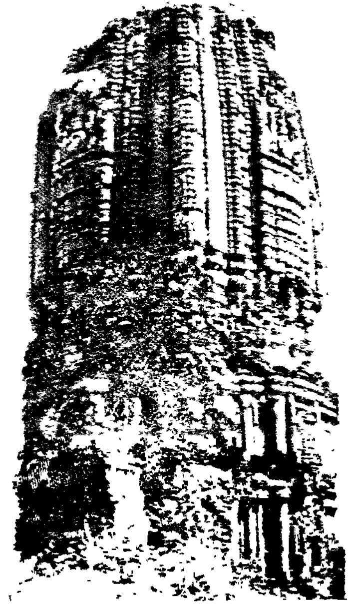
It is curious to observe that this black stone appears to have been a rather late adaptation into Bengal, as the undoubtedly old pieces of sculpture appear all to be in other kinds of stone. The Viṣṇu at Lakṣmaṇkāṭi (*vide* p. 85-87) which, I believe, is the oldest piece of sculpture described in this book,—possibly reaching as far back as the Gupta period,—is in a kind of hard, greyish-black stone, altogether different from the ordinary 'black chlorite' stone. Bhṛkuṭi from Bhabānīpur illustrated on Plate XIX is in a similar kind of stone. The Tārā from Sukhabāspur (P. 56. $\frac{1.B.(V)a}{1}$) is a noble piece of sculpture and antiquity is written on its very face and style. I have designated the stone from which it is made as sand-stone, not very correctly, I am afraid. It is a kind of hard, coarse-grained stone, in the composition of which, sand appears to have entered largely. Similar, but softer, is the stone of the mutilated image of Gaurī described on p. 201—$\frac{3.B.(ii)c}{2}$. Sand-stone appears to have been very rarely used for image-making purposes. The only instance is the image of Mahiṣa-marddinī described on page 196. I found a similar image worshipped as Kālī in the temple standing on the Kamalāsāgar tank at Kasbā, District Tippera. This sand-stone is of very bad quality and was probably obtained from the local hills.

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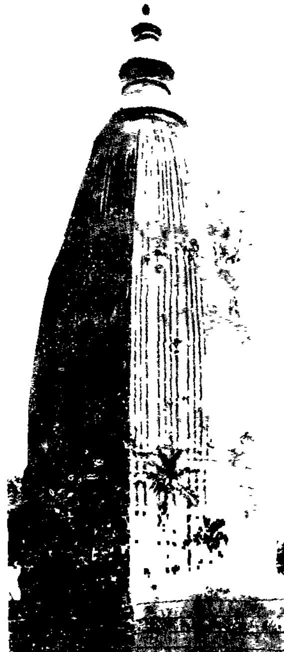
(a) Sulaimani temple Pagān.



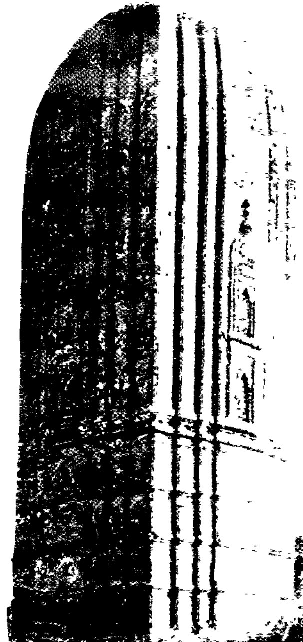
(b) Siddheśvara temple of Bāhulārā—Bankura Dt.



(c) Temple of Bhandīśvara, Birbhum Dt.



(d) Math at Rājāvāḍī, Dacca Dt.



(e) Ichhāi Ghoṣa temple, Burdwan Dt.

temple[1] in the Burdwan District (Plate LXXXII. e.), the *Math* at Kodlā in the Khulna District,[2] Jaṭār *Deul* in the 24 Parganas,[3] and the *Math* at Rājāvāḍī in the Dacca District[4] (Plate LXXXII. d). The temple of Bhandiśvara, four miles west of Suri in Birbhum, built of stone in 1754 A. D. is also of the same style.[5] (Plate LXXXII. c.). Soon after, Bengal virtually passed into the hands of the English after the battle of Plassy in 1757, and the Gothic spires began to mingle with fatal facility with the Bengal *Rekhās*. The first fruit of this mixture is perhaps the famous twenty-one-spired *Maṭh* of Rājnagar erected by Rājā Rājaballabha, a great political figure in those days. This hybrid type has continued down to our own days.

The Barākar temples (Dt. Burdwan) are fine mediaeval stone temples of the Orissan *Rekhā* type, erected by Haripriyā, wife of Rājā Hariśchandra, Rājā of Pañchakoṭ, in 1461 A. D.[6]

The Bengali style of temples described and illustrated by the late lamented scholar Rāi Manomohana Chakravartī Bāhādur in J. A. S. B. 1909, p. 141 ff., seems to be an exotic growth,—a mixture of the style of the primitive Bengali huts reproduced in brick and of Indo-Saracenic Architecture. It is difficult to believe that the style originated in Pre-Muhammadan days, and Mr. Chakravartī also puts forward no claims to a very old origin for the style.

9. Bengal Sculpture : a review.

A. MATERIAL.

(a) Stone.

The majority of images that are found in Eastern Bengal belong to the last period of the life-span of Bengal Sculpture, *i.e.* the period from about 1000—1200 A.D. These images are almost invariably carved in a

1. For a fine illustration see—'The Art of the Pala Empire of Bengal' Plate—XXVIII—where it is erroneously described as a monument of the Pala-period. For correct estimation of age, see R. A. S. I. 1921-22, p. 78.
2. R. A. S. I. 1921-22, p. 76.
3. R. A. S. I. 1921-22, p. 78.
4. R. A. S. I. 1921-22. Plate XI—b. Carried away by river in 1925.
5. R. A. S. I. 1921-22, p. 78. Pl. XXVII—b.
6. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. VIII, p. 150. R. A. S. I. 1922-23, p. 110. For fine illustrations of these temples, see Mr. J. C. French's "Art of the Pala Empire of Bengal," Plates XXIX, XXX, XXXI. Here again Mr. French mistakes these mediaeval temples for architecture of the Pala period.

kind of fine-grained and rather hard slate stone, which I have called "black chlorite" throughout this work. From the analysis of stone used in Indian Sculpture published in Appendix E of Anderson's Catalogue of the Archæological collections in the Indian Museum, I find, however, that there are varieties even in this black stone and geologists have different scientific names for each variety, *viz.* Hornblende, Scist, Basalt, Dolomite, Chlorite Scist, etc. I have also heard the designation "consolidated-clay stone" given to the black stone used in Bengal Sculpture. Whatever may be the correct scientific name for this black stone, there is no doubt that this extremely weather-resisting and fine-grained stone was pre-eminently suitable for the purpose for which it was employed. Owing to fine non-crystalline grains, the stone lends itself to very minute carving and high polish and Bengal sculpture can easily be distinguished from that of the rest of India by the sharp clean-cut features of the figures and the oily finish of the whole piece. In durability also, this stone has hardly any peer. Among scores and scores of images that are found, there is not a single one that shows any trace of the passage of about seven hundred years and odd over them! They can easily be taken to have left the sculptor's hands only yesterday! Most of them, no doubt, owe their extraordinary preservation to their long immersion under loam and water, but not all stones would resist so wonderfully the corroding action of even these two elements. I am not in a position to judge whether the credit of discovering the wonderful suitability of this black stone for purposes of sculpture belongs to the Bengal sculptors, but nowhere else in India, I believe, was black stone so universally used for image-making purposes.

The nearest and the most easily accessible quarry of this variety of stone is said to be the Rājmahal Hills, just where the Ganges leaves Bihar and enters Bengal. Slabs big and small were quarried, loaded in boats and floated down the river and supplied to all the centres of the sculptor's art in Bengal. The vast number of images discovered in Bengal would testify to the vastness of the trade in Rājmahal stone that once used to flourish. One of the earliest specimens collected for the Dacca Museum, which the present writer has the happy remembrance, as a college student, of having helped to obatain, was a huge stone slab of this kind described on page 229 of this book (No. $\frac{4}{4}$). The remarks made there will bear repetition here. "This remarkable stone slab (11′ 5″ × 3′ × 10″) is rough on one side and quarry-dressed on the other by a series of thick and more or less parallel lines, running breadthwise. Slabs like the present one have often been discovered from the vicinity

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Some years ago, Babu Kālīpada Maitra, M. A., Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of the Gopālganj Sub-Division of the Faridpur District, sent to the Dacca Museum a fragmentary image of Hara-Pārvatī. As it is a mere fragment, it has not been included in the present work. The stone used was a puzzle. As it had resisted long immersion in water, it was undoubtedly stone; but it looked like sun-dried black clay at first sight. It appears to be a very soft variety of clay-stone. I found fragments of similar soft clay-stone in the Chandranāth Hills of Chittagong, at the famous spring of Sahasradhārā.

The huge pillar from the Sonāraṅg *Deul* (P. 226. No, $\frac{4}{2}$) is in granite. It appears to be composed of white crystals enclosed in a thin veneer of black, with mica particles sparkling all through. The stone door-sill

(P. 229. No. $\frac{4}{3}$) and the pillar-basement (*Supra*, p. viii, lines 24-27) from the same *Deul* are in a kind of hard sand-stone. The pillars in the Masjid of Bābā Ādam at Rāmpāl (*Supra*, p. xiii) also appear to be in sand-stone of this variety. Some slender pillars in Bābā Sāleh's mosque at Bandar are in 'black chlorite'. The marble statue of Buddha from Kāchlābāṭi, District Mymensing (P. 31), appears to have been an importation from Burma.

(b) Metal: Octo-alloy.

There is no doubt that gold and silver were used as material to manufacture images ; but for obvious reasons, the number of such images was not large. The custom of covering images of baser metal with gold leaves or thin sheets of gold was, however, common. The image of Sarvvāṇī from Chauddagrām, District Tippera, (P. 203) is a historic instance of early gilding. The image of Hevajra from Dharmmanagar in Hill Tippera, described in the addendum, is also a gilt image. I have not yet come across any image of gold ; but we know of at least one silver image, viz. the famous silver image of Viṣṇu (P. 84) from the *Deul* at Churāin, District Dacca, and it is a delightful piece of silversmith's art. It is now in the Art Gallery of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. There, inside the glass-case, it stands as fresh as if it was made only yesterday !

But the metal, which was the standard material for the purpose and was held sacred by the caster, is an alloy and has been traditionally known as the *aṣṭa-dhātu*, for which I have coined a designation— *Octo-alloy*. It was mostly like brass, but tradition appears to be right in holding that it was not a simple alloy like brass, but a mixture of many metals. The metal of an image of this material found in Raṅgpur District was analysed, and the analyst found in it large proportions of copper, lead and tin, with traces of antimony, zinc and iron. The late Dr. Spooner appears to be right in holding that the analysis seemed clearly to indicate that the actual composition consisted of the so-called *Aṣṭa-dhātu* (eight-metals), though no trace of gold or silver could be detected.* From a study of the twelve specimens in the Dacca Museum, it would appear that in the alloy, sometimes the coppery appearance predominated, as in the lotus from Mājbāḍī, District Faridpur (P. 48). But the image identified as Sitātapatrā (P. 53) from

* "Vishnu Images from Rangpur" by Dr. D. B. Spooner. Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1911-12.

the Tippera District, is pale yellow in colour and looks like real brass. Sometimes pure copper was also used, as may be seen from the Aliṅgana image from Keoār (P. 130).

The art of metal-casting appears to have attained a degree of currency and excellence, almost equal to that of stone-carving. Sitātapatrā from Tippera (Plate XVIII) is very much corroded, but the supple gracefulness of the figure and the divinely peaceful motherly expression of the face still delights every observer. Sūryya from Chaṇḍīmuḍā (Plate LIX) is even more corroded, but the beautiful and symmetrical composition of the whole piece will please even a strict conroisseur; while the fierce energy in the figures of the steeds and the archer girls bespeaks a throbbing life which we miss in later art. The inscribed Sarvvāṇī (Plate LXX) found along with this image and Lokanātha from Sylhet (Plate IV) are, however, more primitive productions. The mechanical skill of the caster reached its height during the period just preceding the advent of the Muhammadans, as may be seen from the image of Chaṇḍi from Sonāraṅg (Plate LXVII), the famous silver image of Viṣṇu from Churāin (Plate XXIX) and the lotus with moveable petals from Mājbāḍī (Plates XVI and XVII).

(c) Wood.

Of the four materials, viz. stone, metal, wood and clay, prescribed by Varāhamihira as suitable for manufacture of images, we have seen that the first was very widely used, while the second was also no less popular. We have reasons to believe that the third material was also very frequently used, though the perishable nature of the material has not allowed any considerable number of specimens of this class to come down to our days. Fortunately, I have succeeded in collecting for the Dacca Museum a number of very valuable specimens of pre-Muhammadan wooden sculpture. There are several collections of Bengal Stones in Bengal, so that an inquirer has now hardly any difficulty in knowing how the pre-Muhammadan artists of Bengal carved in stone. But if he wants to know how the artists carved in wood, the specimens collected in the Dacca Museum will be able to give him a fairly good idea.

The wooden capital illustrated on Plate LXXIV, has been very much eaten into by loam, but the four-armed figure of Viṣṇu seated in the centre in a meditative pose can still be distinguished. The wood used must have been of extraordinary solidity. The few patches where the original carving is still intact look like fine needle-work or ivory carving. The whole is a fine, artistic piece of carving, of pleasing proportions.

The wooden image of Viṣṇu illustrated on Plate XXVIII is very much weather-worn and is exactly of the same type as a stone image of the period. Wooden Garuḍa illustrated on Plate XLI–b, is much better preserved. The face beams with a happy intelligence that does one's heart good to behold and speaks volumes for the skill of the artist who fashioned it.

The carved wooden pillars described in the addendum and illustrated on Plate LXXVII and LXXVIII are good samples of the carver's art, while the massive carved lintel, also described in the addendum, is even a better production. The carving of the latter, though in low relief, is very fine and is so well-preserved that even the scales of the cobras figured are still very distinct. On the whole, it may be safely said that the wood-carvers of those days, in point of skill, were very much on the same footing as their brethren of the stone-carving profession.

(d) Clay.

Potters, as a class, have at present the monopoly of preparing the very large number of ephemeral images of clay that are required throughout the year by almost every Hindu house-holder for seasonal worship. The condition was probably the same in pre-Muhammadan days. Even now the potters of some localities in Bengal have wide-spread reputation for their abilitiy to prepare very artistic images. Mention may be made of the clay-artists of Kṛṣṇanagar, Dt. Nadiā, who are capable of giving expression, in clay figures, to all manner of human emotions. Pre-Muhammadan clay-modeller's art has survived in a few *terra-cotta* plaques, one of which is illustrated on Plate IX *a*. There is evidence to show that these plaques were manufactured in large numbers and sold to pilgrims, who carried them to far off countries. Plaques like these with inscriptions in the Bengali script of the 11th century A. D. have been found in Arakan and Burma. Large numbers of them have been exhumed from the ruins at Nālanda. The plaques found in the recent excavation at Pāhāḍpur are a group by themselves and deserve a separate monograph. The large slabs of *terra-cotta* from Sābhār with the figures of the Bodhisattvas in different attitudes stamped on them, are a feature of the ruins at Sābhār. Two of them have been illustrated on Plate X. *Terra-cotta* figures of Buddha in round and some other human figures of the same material have also been found from the ruins at Sābhār. But except in the plaques mentioned above, the use of *terra-cotta* appears to have been discontinued in Bengal in the later ages.

B. HISTORY OF BENGAL SCULPTURE: ITS AESTHETIC ACHIEVEMENTS.

History of Bengal Sculpture has yet to be written. Of course, an outline can even now be traced with the help of material available in the different collections enumerated above on page v; but a village to village survey would be necessary with this one purpose, before a comprehensive history should be attempted.

It would be difficult to say when the Fine Arts began to flourish in Bengal, but presumably they did so from very early days. The city of Pauṇḍravardhana is a famous place in Bengal even from the dawn of history. The fort at Koṭālipāḍā, with which the name of the great conqueror Chandravarmman is associated,* dates from the beginning of the 4th century A. D. The town of Tāmralipti in the Midnāpur district of Bengal is even older. The rise of Karṇa-Suvarṇa—in the Mursidābād district, Koṭivarṣa—in the Dinājpur district, and Sābhār—in the Dāccā district, is to be placed earliar than the rise of the Pālas. The copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta Emperors, (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV) from Dāmodarpur, the Faridpur plates of Dhārmmāditya, Gopa-chandra (Indian Antiquary—1910) and Samāchāra Deva (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII, p. 74—86), of Jayanāga (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII, p. 60) and Bhāskaravarmman (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII and Vol. XIX, p. 115) as well as the discovery of numerous Gupta gold coins from Bengal would bear testimony to a well-ordered system of Government in Bengal during and after the period of the rule of the Imperial Guptas. But early sculpture appears to be almost non-existent in comparison with the state of things which we may reasonably expect in an well-ordered flourishing society under an well-established Government. The reason is probably to be sought in the fact that our collections consist of chance-finds from tanks and ditches of the latest period and from the upper stratum of earth and the above-named old sites have yet to be systematically explored. Pāhāḍpur is an illustration of what a systematic exploration can yield. The recent excavation undertaken by the Archæological Survey at Mahāsthān, the old Pauṇḍravardhana, is expected to yield valuable results.

It is always hazardous to depend on a consideration of the 'Style' to fix the age of any detached piece of sculpture and

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*Vide *infra* p. 1—2 and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII, p. 86—"The Ghugrahati copper-plate inscription of Samachara Deva."

always safe to be guided by inscriptions in the matter. This is why I have taken particular care to read the inscriptions and inscribed labels that often appear on the pedestal of images. Except the Chauddagrām Sarvvāṇī (P. 203—205) bearing an inscription of Prabhāvatī, queen of Devakhaḍga, I have not been able to illustrate and describe in this volume any other undoubtedly early image. Viṣṇu from Lakṣmaṇkāṭi (P. 86—87) I consider to be even earlier, but the assignment rests on a consideration of the style and some peculiar features of the image. Except these two and the image of the sun-god (P. 172) and the Gaurīpaṭṭa (P. 143) discovered along with the image of Sarvvāṇī, there is no other pre-Pāla image described in this book. Images of the pre-Pāla period are similarly rare in the collection of the Varendra Research Society also. Even images of the early Pāla period are rare. On the other hand, images of the period between 1000 A. D. and 1200 A. D. can be counted by thousands.

Of the images described in this volume that are to be placed before this last period, Tārā from Sukhabāspur illustrated on plate XX deserves to be mentioned first of all. The ascription no doubt rests here again on a consideration of the 'style' and the material used, but here, as in the case of the Viṣṇu of Lakṣmaṇkāṭi, the ascription will probably meet with the approval of all scholars familiar with Bengal images. The material is a kind of hard grey sand-stone. The top is rounded,—an almost infallible characteristic of early images. The broad and strong features bespeak a period when needlework fineness of execution had not yet become the rule ; while the divinely mysterious smile that lights up the countenance of the goddess and beams forth even through the rough corroded stone, reminds one of the best days of Indian sculpture. A comparison with the Tārā from Sompāḍā illustrated on the next plate, the late date of which is known from the inscription on its pedestal, will be instructive.

An equally old piece of sculpture, identified as Bhṛkuṭi, is illlustrated on Plate XIX. The stone used is a kind of hard-grained greyish black stone, probably the same kind as has been used in the Viṣṇu image of Lakṣmaṇkāṭi. The top is rounded. Another peculiar feature of these old images is a border in relief at the top, looking like a twisted, round, ribbed necklace with a line of granules between the ribs. This feature is present in the previous image also but the ribs and the granules have all been smoothed down by corrosion. The broad and expressive countenance of the goddess has a family resemblance to that of the Tārā described above.

In point of age, the *octo-alloy* Lokanātha from Sylhet illustrated on Plate IV may be even older than these two images, as the cursive nature of the script in the seals on its back would tend to show. But the letters are so worn away and indistinct that it will not be safe to base any conclusion on them. The smoothed-down features of the god would, however, show that the hazy testimony of the seals is perhaps right and that the image belongs to the early period of metal-casting in Bengal.

Buddha from Ujāni, Plate VIII, and Buddha from Mahākālī, Plate IX. b., have rounded tops, both of them, but they are in black chlorite stone. The former has a ribbed and granulated halo and no border, while the latter has a border, but a plain one. They would appear to be of the period of transition from the middle period to the last period. The inscribed Viṣṇu from Bāghāurā (Pl. XXX a), the miniature inscribed Jambhala from Pāikoāḍā (Pl. XI. b), the inscribed Vajrasattva from Sukhabāspur (Plate III. a) can all be ascribed to this period with more certainty on the strength of the inscriptions.

It should be noted here that all the images of this middle period, with the exception of the Viṣṇu from Bāghāurā, are Buddhist in denomination, while an overwhelming majority of the images of the period following are of the Brahmanical faith. This fact accords very well with the ascendency of Buddhism during the rule of the Buddhist Pāla princes, who were powerful roughly between 800 A. D. and 1000 A. D. Towards the end of this period, the Pāla power began to decline and dynasty after dynasty rose in East Bengal in quick succession. The first prince to rise to independent power in East Bengal would appear to be a Buddhist, one Kānti Deva, an unfinished but genuine draft copper-plate inscription of whom, addressing the future kings of Harikela, now in the Dacca Museum, has revealed his existence. This one-generation dynasty was succeeded by that of the Buddhist Chandras, which also appears to have been a one-generation one. The Vaiṣṇava Varmmans who succeeded, held sway for a longer period. Finally, the Senas, who were worshippers of the Sun-god, Śiva and Viṣṇu held sway roughly for a century and a quarter, from about 1100 A. D. to about 1225 A. D. North Bengal and the northern part of the Burdwan Division had passed on to the Muhammadans in 1202 A. D., but in East Bengal the Senas held sway for some years more. They were succeeded by a family of Vaiṣṇava princes, of which Daśaratha Deva is known from his still unpublished copper-plate inscription, now in the Dacca

Museum. This family appears to have held sway up to about 1300 A. D., after which the whole country was overrun by the Muslims.

Thus we see, that from about 1025 A. D. to about 1300 A. D., East Bengal was dominated by princes of the Brahmanical faith and the overwhelming majority of Brahmanical images during this period is thus explained.

Images were produced not by amateur artists working under inspiration for self-satisfaction, but by a class of professional sculptors whose productions found ready sale among the public at large. Some sculptors naturally excelled their brother artists and produced pleasing images, whilst the productions of the rest were very average ones. Even during the last period of Bengal sculpture, we find images of the former class produced in such numbers that we are justified in calling even this last period a flourishing period. A careful observer will be able to distinguish some outstanding features of the sculpture of this period. Perfection in technical details has become almost the rule. The old vigour and breadth of conception and composition have grown scarce, but there is a distinct gain in loveliness and subtle gracefulness which give Bengal sculpture of this period a distinction, that marks it out from the productions of the same period of any other province of India. I naturally hesitate to make a large claim for Bengal sculpture of this period, which some scholars have scoffed at and branded as 'decadent'; but it would, I believe, be difficult to produce any piece from anywhere else in the world which excels the image of Viṣṇu from Śiāldī (Plate XXXI) in loveliness and gracefulness. Even the miniature figures of the two goddesses on either side of the god are finished with an ability that bespeaks the hand of a master sculptor. In Viṣṇu in the Dacca Collectorate compound (Plate XXXIII), we meet with the manly vigour of the old-period sculptures, tempered by an extraordinary fascination of serene loveliness which only the sculptors of the last period had succeeded in producing. Only the country that produced a lyrical poet like Jayadeva was capable of producing sculptors with such finely-adjusted sense of the beautiful. The face of these images will always remain an unending source of joy for the worshippers of beauty,—an everlasting testimony to the height to which an artist is able to soar.

Many more instances of very able pieces of sculpture may be cited from this work. Attention may be called to the figure of Garuḍa

illustrated on plate XL. These images are generally set up on the top of stone-pillars facing a temple of Viṣṇu. Garuḍa, the mighty vehicle of the creator of the world, is depicted in human shape,—a powerful figure with wings and some other bird-like features, looking with wistful devotion at his lord, with an offering of flower between his folded hands. None but a very dull heart will fail to notice the wonderful mixture of awe, wistfulness and divine joy which the vision beatific has called forth on the face of this half-kneeling giant.

Images of Naṭarāja on plate XLII, Arddha-nārīśvara on plate LII, Sarasvatī on plate LXIII, Gaurī on plate LXVIII. b, Manasā on plate LXXIII-a, all deserve separate notice. But the image of Mahiṣa-marddinī illustrated on plate LXVI deserves more than a passing notice. The inscriprion on the pedestal shows that it is a very late image, not far removed from either side of 1200 A. D. The composition and the execution are rather clumsy but the face of the goddess is a wonderful study, and may rank with the best Madonnas created by the artists all over the world. The soft, half-timid, sharp, amiable features, however, are such as are to be met with only in Bengal.

The temple dug out by the Archæological Survey from the mound at Pāhāḍpur, has not only laid the foundation for a history of Bengal Architecture, but has also put forward fresh materials which the historian of Bengal sculpture must study and thoroughly sift out. It appears to me that much confusion prevails at present regarding the age of the sculptures that have been unearthed. The copper-plate inscription of the 5th century A. D. discovered, has added confusion to the confused state of things that already existed. The stone images discovered are styled "the earliest examples of sculpture that have come down to us in Bengal" and they are believed to combine in them "the broad intellectualism of the Gupta Epoch" "with the emotionalism of Bengal." But we have yet to learn what prevents us from taking these sculptures to be the productions of the latest age of Bengal sculpture. In fact, Jainism, Buddhism and then Brahmanism would appear to be the chronological order of the domination of these three faiths over this great temple.

10. Circulation of Sculpture, an index to spread of Culture.

The geographical limit of the circulation of sculpture is a very interesting and sure index to the spread of culture. If a place was

inhabited in pre-Muhammadan days, it was occupied by people either of Buddhist or of Brahmanical faith and they required images for worship. Wealthy people and those who could afford installed stone images, which were thrown into the nearest tank or ditch on mutilation or apprehended Muslim invasion. These images of stone can never be lost, unless pounded to atoms. The worshippers disappeared, but the images worshipped by them remained concealed in ditches by their forsaken homesteads and now turn up from time to time. We thus know from the find of images that the districts of Sylhet, Tippera, Noakhali and the plains of Chittagong were inhabitited in pre-Muhammadan days by people professing either Brahmanical or Buddhistic faith. The banks of the rivers Lakṣyā and Brahmaputra in the Dacca District were inhabited from very ancient times, but in the jungly central portion of the northern half of the Dacca District, called at present Bhāoāl and Madhupur, Aryan colonists must have been very few and far between, as practically no images are reported from this area. That was also the case with the entire Mymensing district, which began to be peopled by people of Brahmanical faith only under the pressure of Muslim invasion, when orthodox society began to seek for habitable tracts safe from Muslim aggression. There is a tradition that Ananta Datta, the progenitor of the Datta family of Kāstul and Aṣṭagrām which stand on the Meghna, on the eastern border of the Mymensing District where it meets the district of Sylhet, went to seek a shelter in that region, having incurred the displeasure of Ballāla Sena. The Koch inhabitants of the Mymensing district were predominent even in the early part of the 16th century, when their chiefs went down one by one before the aggressive Isa Khan Masnad-i-Ali.

Culture in Eastern Bengal radiated from two centres in those days—*viz*: Vaṅga and Samataṭa. Much loose thinking prevails regarding the geographical situation of these two places. I have identified Samataṭa as that part of Eastern Bengal which lies east of the old course of the Brahmaputra (see ***infra*** P. 4.). For details of argument, the reader is referred to my article on "Some Image Inscriptions from East Bengal," in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII P. 353. Samataṭa included the whole of the present Chittagong Division and the plains of Sylhet and portions of the present Dacca and Mymensing Districts.

With the boundary of Samataṭa thus defined, it is not difficult to define the limit of Vaṅga, which I have identified with the present

districts of Dacca, Faridpur and Backarganj (see *infra*, P. 4.). Throughout the areas of Samataṭa and Vaṅga, images are found except in portions as noted above. Recently a large number (65 in all) of images of Buddhist deities was discovered at Jhewāri, under the Anwārā Police Station of the Chittagong district. These images are all pre-Muhammadan in age and some of them are inscribed. Tārānāth also states that Buddhism lasted the longest on the soil of India in the outlying district of Tippera. Arakan thus probably received its Buddhism through the districts of Tippera and Chittagong. In the latter district, Buddhism is still a living religion amongst the Hill tribes.

11. Society, as reflected in Bengal Sculpture.

(A) COSTUME.

The potters of the present day whose business it is to prepare clay images for worship, never dream of dressing the gods and goddesses made by them in any other garb than those ordinarily worn by the present-day inhabitants of Bengal. We have no reason to assume that their brethren of pre-Muhammadan days in the stone-cutting profession did anything different. If that be so, it will have to be admitted that both male and female costumes in Bengal have undergone very notable changes. Ibn Batutā, who visited Bengal in 1345 A. D., has left us a list of the prices current in Bengal in his time.* It appears from his list that while articles of every-day use like rice, sugar, ghee, oil, etc. were sold at amazingly cheap rates, cloth was comparatively dear, and people, therefore, had to be content with little cloth. Things were not much different 150 years before Ibn Batutā's time and the parsimony of people with regard to cloth is reflected in the short *Dhotis* in which the sculptors clothe the gods, which stop shorter than even the present-day skirts of European ladies! The present-day standard of a *Dhoti*, 5 yds. long and 44 inches broad, was unknown. The standard in pre-Muhammadan days would appear to lie nearer 3 yds. × 24 inches for the males. This custom of wearing short and narrow *Dhotis* continued down to even early British days†. The short *Dhotis* of the males may be seen in all the figures of the gods. They are most conveniently seen in

* Vide author's "Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal." Appendix I. 'Ibn Batuta's Travels in Bengal'. P. 144.

† Ralph Fitch who visited Bengal in 1585 A. D found the males everywhere 'naked', going about with a little loin-cloth

the images of Viṣṇu. From the fact that Samudra Gupta is represented similarly clothed on his coins, it would appear that the custom was an old one and probably all-India wide.

The *Sārīs* of the ladies, however, descended much lower and stopped short of the ankle by an inch or two. At present, the *Sārī* as well as the *Dhoti* is 5 yds. in length. In the case of the males, about half this length is taken round the waist from right to left and fastened on to it like a belt by the action of the elasticity of the abdomen. The free end of this portion is tucked up between the legs and fastened behind on the border of the fold encircling the waist like a belt. This portion is called *Kāchhā.* The other half of the cloth is folded into folds about 3″ wide, and suspended in front. This portion is known as *Kochā.* The garb of the males in pre-Muhammadan days appears to have been worn in a similar fashion, only with a shorter cloth.

But the manner of wearing the *Sārī* by the ladies appears to have undergone radical change. At present the *Sārī* goes round the waist like a petticoat, and no portion is left to serve as *Kāchhā,* as in the case of the males. The rest of the *Sārī* covers the upper portions of the body and ultimately also serves as a veil to cover the head. The *Sārī* by which the ladies represented in these stone images are found covered appears to have been of a different nature. At first sight they look like petticoats, but careful observation reveals the fact that they are not so. For purposes of observation, a scrutiny of standing figures gives the most satisfactory results and the attention of the reader is therefore directed to the figures of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī on the images of Viṣṇu, images of Mārīchī, images of Mahiṣamarddinī and images of Chaṇḍī, It will be seen from these images that the *Sārī* does not cover the front like a flat piece, but goes round the legs and exhibits their contours. It will further be observed that while the outer corner of that portion of the *Sārī* which meets the leg is left at a right angle to the leg, the inner corner is drawn up, suggesting tucking up between the legs and fastening of both the ends behind like a *Kāchhā.* This is suggestive of the South Indian fashion of wearing the *Sārī.* This method leaves the legs much wider freedom of movement than the petticoats or the *Sārīs* as worn at present in Bengal. With the *Sārīs* worn at present, the attitude of Mārīchī as on plate XIV, that of Sitātapatrā (Pl. XVIII), of Tārā (Plate XXI, XXII. a), of Parṇaśavarī (Plate XXIII), of the figure of Gaurī on the Āliṅgana images (Plates XLIX, LI. a), of the Mother in the 'Mother-and-child' images (Plates LIII. b, LIV), of Sarasvatī

(Pl. LXIII), of Mahiṣamarddinī (Pl. LXV, LXVI) and of Manasā (Pl. LXXIII. a) would have been difficult, if not impossible of performance retaining the *Sārī* in position, as required by decency. The tucking up is particularly noticeable in almost all the figures of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī on the images of Viṣṇu. That the cloth was tucked up can also be proved from the *Sārīs* with line-designs, worn by many ladies. It will be observed that the lines do not run continuously, as they would have done in case the *Sārī* were worn like a petticoat and lay like a flat flap in front.* The lines on both the legs follow the contour of the leg they cover and are finally drawn inwards and upwards.

A scrutiny of most of the female figures appears to show that both the ends of the cloth were drawn in and tucked up behind. The evidence of the figure of Tārā from Khailkair (Plate XXII. a) would, however, show that sometimes only the left end was tucked up and the right end after being fastened at the waist by the upper border was allowed to hang loose in folds on front. Folds ending in graceful curves in front are also found in the images of Mahāpratisarā (Plate XXIV) and Bhṛkuṭī (Plate XIX). A number of folds are also to be found in the image of Mārīchī from Paṇḍitsār and they appear to be folds of the right end of the *Sārī*. In the Mārīchī from Ujāni, however, no folds appear and the *Sārī* appears to be drawn in and tucked up at both the ends.

The *Sārī* having thus been finished at the waist, it remains to be seen how the upper portion of the body was covered. It is inconceivable that sewn garments like bodices or jackets were not in use, at least in the upper stratum of society ; but examples in support of this supposition is surprisingly rare in the female figures represented in Bengal sculpture. One of the two instances of the use of a bodice that I have succeeded in finding out is that worn by Mārīchī from Paṇḍitsār, Plate XIV. The bodice is observed here as a tight-fitting garment with short arms ending in fringes, and stopping midway between the breasts and the navel. The other instance is to be found in the image of Bhṛkuṭī illustrated on Plate XIX. The bodice here is similar, but descends lower and covers the navel.

The covering in general use, however, was a narrow long piece of cloth, very well-represented on figure *a*, Plate II, Plates XXV, LXIII,

* On only one image, viz. No. 12 described on page 81 of this book but not illustated, the lines on the *Saris* of Laksmi and Sarasvati run continuously over both the legs.

and LXIV. This *urṇā* or *uttarīya*, as it is called technically, covers the left breast completely, and the right breast only partially.* In images representing action, the breasts are restrained by a knot, as in the images of Mahiṣamarddinī, plate LXV. a, and plate LXVI. The knot appears in a placid image also, along with the *urṇā*, viz, in Manasā on plate LXXIII. a. It is curious to note, however, that in some images *e. g.* Mahāpratisarā on plate XXIV and Gaurī on plate LXVIII. b, no vestige whatever of a covering for the breasts is to be found !

The custom of wearing the cloth below the navel was universal among both males and females. The *Uttarīya* was used by the males also, as may be observed on several images. In the image of Buddha from Ujānī, (Plate VIII) the left side of the figure is well-covered by an ample *Uttarīya.* If may be observed here that the great preacher is not represented wearing the short cloth, usual for males, but his cloth descends down to the ankles and the folds in front are represented spread in a wavy circle. Mañju-Śrī figured on Plate VII-b is also similarly well-dressed and similar are the cases of the images of Lokanātha on Plate IV and Plate VI-b. In representing these images, the sculptors no doubt gave them the traditional wrappers of the Buddhist Bhikṣus.

The designs on the male and female clothing are interesting studies and testify to a flourishing state of the weavers' art. Line-design was the most common pattern, while different patterns of floral and other designs can also be distinguished.

As it was probably thought improper and impious to cover the feet of the gods and goddesses, and as practically no secular sculpture has hitherto been discovered in Bengal, it is difficult to know what kind

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* It would be interesting to find out how far the facts gleaned from an observation of sculpture can be supported from contemporary literature. The following *sloka* in the *Pavanadutam* by Dhoyi, who was one of the five poets gracing the court of Laksmana Sena (1170—1206 A. D. *circa*) contains a reference to *uttariya* worn by ladies.

ক্রীড়ন্তীনাং পয়সি রভসাত্তত্র লীলাবতীনাং বীচীহস্তৈ রচয় কুচয়োরংশুকস্রংসনানি ।
সদ্যস্তাসামপি চ রমণালোকনব্যাকুলানাং যাস্ত ক্রীড়ামসৃনহসিতান্যুত্তরীয়াঞ্চলত্বম্ ॥

Pavanadutam. Sloka 35.

(Of the frolicsome ladies playing in joy there in water, cause the falling off of the cloth covering their breasts by thy hands of waves ; forthwith, of those ladies also, anxious to see their lovers, let the mirthful soft laughter serve (to cover them up) as the scarf of their *uttariyas*).

of shoes were in use. The feet of the Sun-god had to be covered up under religious injunction and this was done by a sort of hunting boot, the nature of which has been discussed *infra*, on pages 157-158. The legs of the attendants and wives of the Sun-god are also found similarly covered in some images.

How the ladies of those days did their hair can be studied from the interesting chignon on the head of Sarasvatī on plate LXIII. This method of doing the hair is also illustrated on some of the figures of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, represented on either side of Viṣṇu, *e.g.* plate XXVII. This method appears to have been the most favourite fashion, as it is the one most frequently met with. Tārā from Khailkair (Plate XXII. a) has her hair done in a different fashion, *viz.* a round flat chignon at the back of the head. In the lower panel of ladies assembled to wish the hunter Revanta (Plate LXII. a) godspeed, the one standing on the extreme proper left has her hair done in a similar fashion. It may be noted in passing that the lady to her right has both of her breasts restrained and covered by *urṇā* in a manner which suggests that the *urṇā*, after covering both the breasts, is fastened in position by a knot on the back behind. Of late years, this fashion has been adopted by the Bengali stage in dressing the dancing girls in the Paurāṇic dramas. It may further be noted that the lady to the right of the last-mentioned one shows, again, no vestige of a covering on her breast.*

(b) Ornaments.

Both males and females are represented heavily ornamented in Bengal sculpture. Let us begin with the head.

The males almost invariably, while the females less frequently, have their heads covered by tapering conical *mukuṭas*, while a simple crown serves to cover the head of a few males and a large number of females.

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*cf. অবধিদিনাবধিজীবাঃ প্রসীদ জীবন্তু পথিকজনজায়াঃ ।
দুর্লঙ্ঘ্যবর্ত্ম শৈলৌ স্তনৌ পিধেহি প্রপাপালি ॥

Aryya-Saptasati by Govardhanacharyya. 2/1

(Be merciful, thou fair waitress of the water-stall by the road-side. Let the wives of the way-farers live,—ladies who are keeping alive only against their husband's due date of return. Do cover up thy breasts, which are hills insurmountable directly on the road).

Govardhana was one of the five poets who graced the court of Laksmana Sena. (*Circa* 1170—1206 A. D.)

These headgears are probably to be taken as signs of divinity and royalty and cannot be taken to have been in general use in society. In the absence of secular sculpture, it is difficult to say what the head-gear in general use was like. But we have no reason to assume that the fore-fathers of the bare-headed Bengalees of the present day habitually used any head-gear in pre-Muhammadan days, except on ceremonial occasions. The tradition of these ceremonial head-gears has been preserved unbroken down to the present day in the shape of the *mukuṭa* and the crown of cork (*Solā*) which the bridegroom and the bride are given to wear respectively, at the time of the marriage ceremony.

In the Buddhist images, some varieties in the *mukuṭa* will be noticed. In images of Buddha, the head of the great teacher wiil be found covered by a series of knots arranged in the shape of a pyramid. The knots represent the curls of his hair, while the conical shape is supposed to be due to a protuberance in the skull of the Buddha, which is believed to be the most important sign of his Buddhahood.

In Brahmanical images, the *mukuṭas* are of two different classes. In Śaiva images, both males and females will be found wearing *Jaṭā-mukuṭa*, *i. e.* the *mukuṭa* looking like a bundle of matted locks. The head of the Vaiṣṇava images will be found covered by what the South Indian texts call *Karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*. (*Karaṇḍa*, meaning a basket).

Ear-lobes pierced and weighted down was the universal rule among both males and females. Buddha is generally represented without any ornament whatever, as may be found from Plate VIII and IX. b. But even in these images, the ear-lobes are represented pierced and elongated, though no ornament is represented weighing them down.

The usual ornaments for the ears of the ladies were circular pendants of large size. In the case of males, the style was the same but the size was generally a little smaller. Some of the male figures, however, are given pendants equal in size to those worn by ladies, *e.g.*, Mañju-Śrī on Plate VII. b, the figures of Jambhala on Plate XI.

The fashion among the ladies in Bengal, even fifty years ago, was to use huge and uncouth nose-rings hung from a hole perforated in the loose skin at the end of the cartilage. In addition to this, the skin covering the left nostril was perforated and a tiny ornament in imitation of a flower-bud was worn through the hole. At present, the nose-ring has almost disappeared and small nose-pendants are used by girls until puberty. The flower-bud ornament, however, is still in general use. The ancients had the good sense to leave this beautiful

limb, the equipoise of the face, unbattered and no nose-ornament whatever is found in the female figures in Bengal sculpture.

Necklaces worn by the male and female figures are interesting studies. It would appear from a comparative study that the older pieces of sculpture are distincly less ornamented than the later productions, in which profuse ornamentation became the rule. A comparison between Viṣṇu from Śiāldi (Plate XXXI) and Viṣṇu from Lakṣmaṇkāṭi (Plate XXXII) will be instructive. In the female figures, three lines of necklaces became finally the rule, *viz.* : one short necklace of pearls or other material of similar beady appearance ; then an inflexible thick flat band ; and finally a flowing long necklace falling gracefully over and beyond the bosom. In the male figures, the last item is generally omitted, but this one and some more appear with a vengeance in highly decorated figures like Viṣṇu from Śiāldi (Plate XXXI) and Mañju-Śrī from Jālkuṇḍi (Plate VII. b).

Armlets, bracelets and anklets are common to both female and male figures. The bracelets worn by males, as a rule, are found to be thinner than those worn by ladies. In the case of the latter, the bracelets are generally barrel-shaped ornaments extending over four or five inches of space, beginning near the wrist. It may be noted that this fashion in bracelets is still current among the women of Bihar. Elaborate waist-bands, often several lines deep, appear encircling the waists of both male and female figures in Bengal sculpture. A very good comparative idea of the male and female waist-bands can be formed from the images of Viṣṇu, in which the god is usually represented with an wife on either side, *e. g.*, Plates XXXI and XXXIII.

Anklets appear on the feet of both males and females. Bengalee boys up to the age of 7 or 8 and girls, even after attaining puberty, used to wear anklets even thirty years ago ; but the custom is fast falling into disuse. The girls in villages still use them up to the age of ten or eleven, and their use is ceremonial at the time of marriage. But soon after the event the anklets are discarded and are never taken up again.

(c) Domestic Articles.

The shape of some domestic articles, as found sculptured on images, is very interesting. For beautiful **pitchers**, the reader is referred to plates VII-a, XI-d, LXXII-b, LXXIII-a.

An artistic **flower-stand** and beautiful pinnacle-shaped **offerings** will be found at the base of Tārā from Sompāḍā, plate XXI.

Good specimens of legged **bed-steads** will be found on plates LIII-b and LIV-b.

The shape of a **fan** in ordinary use may be seen from the specimen in the hand of the maidservant on plate LIII-b.

Umbrella of those days will be found over the heads of the couples, on plates XLVII-b, XLVII-a, XLIX-a and many other images.

Beautiful **caskets** will be found held by the left hand of Gaurī on plates LXVII and LXVIII-b. This shape is still persisting in the wooden caskets that a bride is given to hold in her left hand at the time of marriage. A beautiful wicker-work **basket** will be found in the hand of the inscribed Chaṇḍī at Dacca. (Pl. LXIX.)

Of the **weapons**, the bow and the broad-sword are the best executed perhaps because they were in very general use. The battle-axe is also well-executed in some figures. The images of sun-god are all represented as wearing **coats of mail** and the different shapes of the armour can be studied from these images.

The **Vina** in the hands of Sarasvatī is always a one-stringed instrument, very different from the elaborate accessory of music with which we are accustomed to associate the name. On the hands of Sarasvatī figured on the image of Viṣṇu from Lakṣmaṇkāṭi (Plate XXXII), the Vīṇā is a boat-shaped instrument, exactly like the representation that is found on a type of the coins of Samudra-Gupta.

The **age at which girls were married** in those days is an interesting speculation. In Harṣa-charita(Ed. Cowell and Neil. P. 122) we find that in the case of Harṣa's sister Rājya-Śrī, her father is led to think of her marriage at the swelling of her bosoms, *i.e.* at the age of 13 or 14. In the Vaivāhika images of Bengal, which represent the marriage scene of Siva and Pārvatī (*infra*, p. 120—123), the above age for the marriage of girls finds a curious confirmation in the developed, but still immature, bust and figure of the bride.

12. Acknowledgements and Explanations.

The method of transliteration followed in this book is that of the Royal Asiatic Society, with the exception of C — চ, which has been rendered by Ch. There have been some irregularities in transcribing well-known place and proper names, which have acquired distinctive spellings of their own. It would be difficult to recognise Calcutta in Kalikātā and Dacca in Ḍhākā and the same has been the case with

some proper names and names of Muslim origin. Some of the abbreviations used have been explained in the index. Most of them, however, are of a general nature and hardly need any separate explanation.

The shortcomings in printing are in no small measure due to the limitations in the resources of the moffussil Press in which this book is printed. This press had diacritical types only in the pica font to begin with and after some years these were obtained for the small-pica font also. The Bourgeois font has no diacritical types, which consequently could not be provided in the foot-notes and in the index. Some friends advised the printing of the Sanskrit *Ślokas* quoted, in Devanāgara types, which are more widely known than Bengali types. But as the press had no Devanāgara types, this desire also has remained unrealised. My thanks all the same are due to Babu Narendranātha Bhadra, the Manager of the press, to Babu Prāṇavallabha Chakravartī, its late printer, Babu Surendranātha Sena, its present printer, and all the staff of compositors, who realised the importance of good and accurate printing in a work like the present one and did ungrudging service to that end.

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of funds for the purpose, has already been narrated in Sec. I of this Introduction. To him, more than to anybody else, the credit of giving this book to the public is due. Himself a keen student of Indian history, the editor of the "Dacca Diaries" of the East India Company in J. A. S. B.. 1920, his wonderful sympathy and warm friendlines had the supreme quality of drawing forth the best that was in his friends and subordinates. The years that he was the Commissioner of the Dacca Division and Ex-officio President of the Dacca Museum Committee and I had the privilege to be placed in close association with him, I shall ever remember as the best years of my life,—the years of my most full-hearted activity.

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in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and the image of Manasā from Śīlghāṭ, Assam; and to Rai Sahib Prayāg Dālāl, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, for a photograph of the image of Sarasvatī, published on Plate LXII-b.

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DACCA MUSEUM.
Ramna, Dacca.
Bengal, India.
The 15th March, 1929.

N. K. BHATTASALI.

ICONOGRAPHY OF BUDDHIST AND BRAHMANICAL SCULPTURES IN THE DACCA MUSEUM.

PART I.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES.

FORE-WORD.

BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST ART IN EAST BENGAL

So completely has Buddhism disappeared even from Bengal, its last resort in India, that we of the present generation find it hard to realise the immensity of the religious flood that swept over the whole country, and left it strewn with innumerable images in stone and metal, when it receded. The Buddhist images described and catalogued in the first part of this book are but an insignificant fraction of the images that actually came out from the workshops of innumerable artists all over the country; but even these will be sufficient to give the reader an idea of the extent to which Buddhism flourished in Vaṅga and Samataṭa.

The earliest centre of culture in these parts appears to have been the settlement round the magnificent fort of Chandra-Varmman, the earthen ramparts of which enclose a thickly populated tract of land 2½ by 2½ miles in area, and which still rise in places to a height of 30 feet from the surrounding plain. This place is now known as Koṭālipāḍā (meaning, the settlement formed on the raised ramparts of the fort) and is situated in the southern area of the modern district of Faridpur. Gupta gold coins have been found in considerable numbers from places close to the south-western corner of the fort, where the settlement appears to have been the thickest. The building of this fort has been ascribed to Çhandra-Varmman in the beginning of the 4th century A. D.,

the famous Chandra of the Meherauli Iron Pillar, who came to Vaṅga and warred with the chiefs of the place who offered him a united opposition.[1] The copper-plate inscription of Samāchāra Deva[2] was found in the village of Ghugrāhāti, close to the south-west corner of the fort, while the three other allied plates of Dharmmāditya and Gopachandra were found in the same district, perhaps in the same locality.[3] A gold coin, which has been identified as that of Samāchāra Deva[4], was found about 30 miles north of the place, in the Jessore district. All these finds of the early period, hailing from the same locality, unmistakably point to the great antiquity of this particular part of the country.

There is ample evidence to prove that this part of the country suffered in remote antiquity from a general subsidence, due most probably to a great earth-quake. This event can be dated on the evidence of the plates, in the last quarter of the 6th century A. D.[5] The vicinity of Chandra-Varmman's fort began to be water-logged and unfit for habitation. The head-quarters of the locality had to be moved north on more stable land and the people also migrated north-wards.

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[1] Vide author's—"The Ghugrahati Grant of Samachara Deva and connected questions of Later Gupta chronology." *Dacca Review*, vol. X, 1920. Nos. 2—5.

[2] J. A. S. B. 1910. P. 429.

[3] Mr. Pargiter's—"Three Copper-plate Grants from East Bengal." Indian Antiquary, July, 1910. Two of the plates mention the village of Silakunda and a sheet of water, also called Silakunda. Mr. Pargiter remarks—"Kunda means a large pool or pond. Sheets of water, of all kinds and sizes, are common in the Ganges delta, being the remains of old water-courses or depressions, and have various names according to their formation and size, such as *daha*, *baumr*, *bil*. Silakunda was no doubt such a piece of water and Silakunda *grama* would have been the village adjoining it." He evidently did not know that the river Madhumati in its lower course, south of Kotalipada, is called Saildaha and the village of Saildaha lies on this river about 12 miles south of Kotalipada. This Saildaha village and the Saildaha river are evidently the Silakunda of the plates.

[4] Op. cit. No. 1, above.

[5] Op. cit. No. 1, above.

No image that can safely be attributed to the Gupta period or the period covered by the rule of Dharmmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāra Deva of the Faridpur copper-plates, has yet been discovered from this locality. Only the statuette of Avalokiteśvara fished out from the Śaildaha river, $\left(\frac{\text{I. A. (ii) a}}{4}\right)$ below, would appear to approach this period closer than any other relic hitherto found. But, that the more conservative of the local population stuck to their homes as best as they could, in spite of the natural calamity referred to above, is evidenced by the discovery, reported from time to time, of metal statuettes all over this area. The magnificent copper lotus with movable petals [1. B. (iii) a], the imposing image of Gautama Buddha in black stone $\left(\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a}}{1}\right)$ and the image of Mārīchī, $\left(\frac{\text{I. B. (ii) a}}{2}\right)$, described below, hail from the area. None of them, however, appears to be of a period earlier than the 10th century A. D.

The decline of the settlement round Chandra-Varmman's fort was followed, as has already been said, by the removal of the centre of culture northwards, on more stable land. The place selected appears to have been Sābhār in the present district of Dacca, about 15 miles west of the Dacca city. There are some remarkable ruins at Sābhār. Their age can be ascertained with more or less certainty from the frequent discovery in them of light-weight gold coins struck in imitation of the Archer type of the Gupta gold coins. The Dacca Museum has in its cabinet six such coins from Sābhār. It can be proved that they formed the currency of Eastern India during the 7th century A. D.[1] The ruins at Sābhār have not yet yielded any stone or metallic image, but the number of terra-cottas stamped with the figure of the Buddha and other Buddhist divinities obtained from some of the sites there associated with

[1] Op. Cit. No. 1, above.

the name of a king called Hariśchandra, is surprisingly large. A very representative number of these terra-cottas is in the Dacca Museum and has been described below. It may be noted here that king Hariśchandra is a familiar name in the *Dharmmamaṅgala* poems of Bengal and the period in which he flourished can be stated with some amount of certainty to have been the beginning of the 9th century A. D.[1]

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited this part of the country towards the middle of the 7th century A. D. He found no trace of Buddhism in Kāmarūpa, but it was flourishing side by side with Brahmanism in the countries of Pauṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa. Pauṇḍravardhana has been satisfactorily identified with Mahāsthān in the Bogra district and Karṇasuvarṇa with Rāṅgāmāti in the Mursidabad district. The author's identification of Samataṭa with the part of Bengal, east of the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra river, (roughly, the present districts of Tippera and Noakhali,[2]) is also now generally accepted. The situation of Tāmralipti in the Midnapur district as Tamluk of the modern days is well-known. So, it will be seen, that the four kingdoms mentioned practically cover the whole of modern Bengal.

It is very curious that the pilgrim does not mention the country of Vaṅga. It can be specified as the country lying between the Meghnā river on the east, the sea on the south and the old Buḍī-gaṅgā course of the Ganges on the north. The western boundary of Vaṅga appears always to have been indefinite. Yuan Chwang must have passed over Vaṅga in going from Samataṭa to Tāmralipti. The reason of his silence

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[1] For a discussion of the reading and date of an alleged inscription of Mahendra, son of Harischandra, vide, *Dacca Review*, Vol. X. 1920-21. Nos. 6, 7 and 10.

[2] J. A. S. B. January, 1915. "A note on the Bad-kamta Narttesvara Image Inscription."

appears to have been the fact that owing to general subsidence of the country towards the end of the 6th century A. D., it had rapidly sunk very low in geographical and political importance and did not recover from this set-back for some centuries. When the pilgrim passed over this tract by the middle of the 7th century A. D., there was nothing to attract and detain him there.

But Samataṭa was an important kingdom during this period. There were about 30 Buddhist *saṅghārāmas* with about 2000 priests in the country, while the temples of Brahmanical gods also numbered about 100. It is a curious feature, but little noted, that the pilgrim found the Nirgrantha Jaina ascetics in plentiful numbers, everywhere in Bengal.

The Chinese pilgrim Hwui Lun (No. 33. P. xxxvi. Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsang. Introduction) who travelled in India in the 3rd quarter of the 7th century A. D. (*Circa* 650—664 A.D.) mentions a king Āditya Sena by name, who had just finished a temple about 10 miles east of the Mahābodhi. We can infer from the Shāhpur Image Inscription of Āditya Sena, consecrated in 772 A. D. (Fleet, C. I. I., P. 210), that no Āditya Sena other than the famous king of that name, of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, could have been meant by the Chinese pilgrim. A place, about 200 miles (40 stages) east of this, is mentioned as belonging to Devavarma, king of Eastern India. Another Chinese pilgrim, Seng-chi by name, (Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsang, Introduction, page xl, No. 40) came to Samataṭa shortly afterwards and found a devout Buddhist king Rājabhaṭṭa on the throne of that country.

The Āsrafpur copper-plates (Memoirs, A. S. B., Vol. I. No. 6) brought to light a king of Eastern India called Devakhaḍga, his queen Mahārāṇī Prabhāvatī and their son, the prince Rājarājabhaṭṭa. From the find-spot of these plates,

which is 9 miles east from the banks of the Lauhitya, it was surmised that Devakhaḍga had ruled over Samataṭa (J. A. S. B. March, 1914. "A forgotten kingdom of East Bengal."). The recent discovery, from a place about 22 miles south of Comilla, of an inscribed metallic image of Sarvvāṇī [3. B (ii) f, below] consecrated by queen Prabhāvatī confirms the supposition that the Khaḍgas were rulers of Samataṭa.

Unfortunately, there is a difference of opinion as regards the date to which these Khaḍga inscriptions should be ascribed on paleographical grounds. But any one, who compares the two plates of Devakhaḍga and the new Sarvvāṇī image inscription with the Shāhpur and the Āpshaḍ inscription of Āditya Sena, will find it difficult to resist the conclusion that paleographically, they belong to the same period. The striking coincidence of the names mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, *viz*: Devavarma, king of Eastern India, and his successor Rajabhaṭṭa, king of Samataṭa, with the names of Devakhaḍga and his son Rājarājabhaṭṭa of the plates, both the pairs reigning in the same locality during the same period, cannot also be lightly passed over. To me it appears clear that the Chinese pilgrims referred to the Khaḍga kings Devakhaḍga and Rājarājabhaṭṭa and the establishment of this synchronism ought to set at rest all controversy regarding the date of the Khaḍga kings.

The Āsrafpur plates were issued from a place called Karmmānta, which has been identified with Baḍ-kāmtā, 12 miles west of Comilla. Yuan Chwang speaks of a *stūpa* not far out of the capital of Samataṭa. A curious mound, about 25′ high and surmounted by a *liṅgam* stands near an old tank, about a mile to the north-east of Baḍ-kāmtā. It is locally known as the Mahāmāyā mound. The presence of this single artificial elevation amidst the surrounding plain of level rice fields, is certainly very striking and it may be the remains of the *stūpa* seen by Yuan Chwang.

The tract round Baḍ-kāmtā undoubtedly appears to have been a strong Buddhist centre. The inscribed image of Avalokiteśvara, $\frac{\text{. A. (ii) a}}{2}$ below, which was a magnificent piece of sculpture when entire, hails from Belāśa, only about a mile west of Baḍ-kāmtā. The life-size image of Vajrapṇi Bodhisattva in black chlorite ($\frac{\text{I. A. (ii) c}}{1}$) hails from Śubhapur, about five miles north of Baḍ-kāmtā. East of Śubhapur is the village of Vihārmaṇḍal,—a distinctly Buddhist name,—in which an image of Jambhala is still worshipped. That the place was Buddhistic is further testified to by the fact that the Hindus of the locality will, even now, never utter the name of Vihārmaṇḍal in the morning, which act, they believe, will surely spoil their noon-day meal! In the morning, they always take care to denote it by the terms—"East village," "West village," "North village" or "South village" as the case may be! This appears clearly to be an echo of the times when Buddhist *Vihāras*, with their unholy Vajrayāna practices, were held in very great disrepute and looked down upon by all decent people.

A fine image of Dhyānī Buddha [1. A (iii) a. 3] in black stone was discovered in the village of Bāgherpār, close to Vihārmaṇḍal. This image and another fine image of the goddess Mārīchī discovered at Pior, about four miles south-east of Baḍ-kāmtā, are now receiving worship in the village of Pior as Hindu deities. All these Buddhist images, discovered in the locality by the author in the course of a short tour in 1912, will be sufficient to show the Buddhistic character of the tract round Baḍ-kāmtā. It should be noted, however, that none of these images can reasonably be referred to so early a period as that of the Khaḍgas. The antiquities attributable to that period, are the brass *chaitya* (2—1), and the statuette of Dhyānī Buddha ($\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a}}{5}$) discovered at Āsrafpur. The inscribed Sarvvāṇī image [3. B. (ii.) f] consecrated by

Prabhāvatī, queen of Devakhaḍga, as well as the inscribed *liṅga* [3. A (ii) i—1] and the image of the Sun-god [3. A (iii) a—1] discovered along with the Sarvvāṇī image, also belong to this period. The brass statue of the unidentified eight-armed Buddhist goddess [I. B. (iv) a] from Tippera also appears to be not much later in date.

The testimony of the copper-plate inscriptions and that of the Chinese pilgrims would show that Devakhaḍga as well as his son were staunch Buddhists. Yuan Chwang states that Śīlabhadra, chief of the Nālanda *Mahāvihāra*, from whom the pilgrim took his lessons, sprang from the royal family of Samataṭa. He therefore appears to have been a Khaḍga. It is curious to find a queen of this markedly Buddhist family, who herself had shown her devotion to the Buddhist Vihāras by dedicating land for their use, venerating at the same time the Brahmanical goddess Sarvvāṇī and covering her image with gold-leaf with no less devotion. This awakens us to the real character of religious beliefs during the 6th and the 7th centuries A. D., which is only too often forgotten. There was hardly any antagonism between Buddhism and Brahmanism during this period. Harṣavardhana divided his veneration without compunction among Śiva, the Sun-god and the Buddha. Devakhaḍga, or at least his chief queen Prabhāvatī appears, in a similar manner, to have been devoted to the Buddha, Śiva and the Sun-god at the same time.

The decline of the Khaḍgas of Samataṭa and the Guptas of Magadha was followed, for about a century, by anarchy in Bengal. The eighth century of the Christian Era appears to be a blank in Bengal's history. It is only after the rise of the Pālas in north Bengal towards the beginning of the 9th century A. D., that the thread of the political and the cultural history of the country can be resumed.

The rule of the Pālas was undoubtedly the most glorious period of Bengal's history. The earlier kings, such as Dharmmapāla and Devapāla, were very powerful princes of their time in Northern India. Flourishing schools of sculpture arose all over the country and Tārānāth has preserved for us the names of two master-sculptors, Dhīmāna and his son Vītapāla. But thousand other sculptors like these two, working in thousand different centres of culture, rapidly covered the country with a multitude of images, the mutilated remains of which still evoke everybody's admiration. Any one who has travelled in the villages of Bengal with open eyes, will be able to support the statement that there was hardly a single settled village in Pre-Muhammadan Bengal that had not its Buddhist and Brahmanical temples, enshrining images of Budhist and Brahmanical deities in stone and metal. The collections in the Dacca and the Rajsahi Museums and in the Museum of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* of Calcutta, which mostly belong to this period, are sufficient to give one an idea of the sculptural wealth of Bengal during the Pāla period. It is no exaggeration to say that many more museums like these three can be filled without much difficulty, if men and money are forthcoming.

The supremacy of the Pālas was contested in East Bengal by a family of kings with *Chandra* as their surname. The Tirumalai Inscription of Rājendra Chola (1025 A. D.) shows that Bengal was at this time under three different ruling families. Govinda Chandra held sway in Vaṅga, Mahīpāla in Varendra and Uttara Rāḍha, and Raṇaśūra in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha. From the Rampal plate of Śrī Chandra Deva (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII. Page 136), we come to know of a branch of the Chandras who appear to have had their seat in Samataṭa. They are called the family of the Chandras who had been holding sway over the Rohitā hill (রোহিতাগিরিভুজাং বংশে). Rohitāgiri,

meaning the *red hill*, appears only to be the Sanskritised name of the Lālmāi (lit. *red-soil*) range which occupies the centre of the Tippera district. It is a low picturesque range of hillocks lying five miles west of Comillā, the chief town of the Tippera district. The average height of the peaks is about 40 feet and the breadth, about a mile ; but some of the peaks rise to a height of 100 feet. The range lies north to south and is about 11 miles in length. Many of the hillocks were undoubtedly crowned by temples and *stūpas* and the present writer personally explored some of the peaks lying on the two sides of the Comillā—Dāudkāndi road that passes through the range at its northern extremity. There were distinct remains of brick construction on a peak close by, on the north of the road, with fragments of images in black stone scattered about, while on the south of the road, the circular remains of what must have been a *stūpa* were clearly traced.

But by far the most important ruins are on a peak by the side of the Comillā—Kālirbāzar road that crosses the range at about its middle. This road evidently follows a very old track, but it was re-opened and made fit for use in 1875 A. D. In clearing the line of communication over the hill, an old fort was discovered along with a number of other ruins, some of which yielded several beautiful stone images. The present writer visited the site in 1917. It is a beautiful spacious plateau from the top of which the plains on the east and the west are seen spreading like an enchanting panorama. Abundant ruins all over the plateau unmistakablv testify to the existence of an ancient town on it, of moderate dimesions. The hill is included in the *parganā* of Pāṭikārā, which extends westwards from the range and includes Baḍ-kāmtā, already referred to. We know that Pāṭikārā or Paṭṭikerā was a famous town in Pre-Muhammadan days, situated somewhere in these parts. A copper-plate inscription of one Raṇavaṅka Malla,

discovered somewhere on this Lālmāi range in 1803 and read by Mr. Colebrooke in Vol. II, P. 241, of his Essays, describes the town of Paṭṭikerā, as adorned with forts and Vihāras :—

দুর্গোত্তরোবিহারীরুচিরবিরচিতাপট্টিকেরানগর্য্যাং—*

This description accords with the ruins of the town on the plateau and we have no hesitation in identifying the ruins as those of the town of Paṭṭikerā.

The Chandras of Rohitāgiri were Buddhists and the first man of note in the family was called Purṇachandra. His son was Suvarṇachandra. His son Trailokyachandra appears to have been a great warrior. He is said to have been the mainstay of the king of Harikela, which is only another name for Vaṅga. He appears finally to have acquired the kingship of Chandradvīpa which was the name of the tract of land forming the greater part of the modern district of Backerganj.

Trailokya's son Śrīchandra Deva appears to have mastered the whole of Vaṅga. He issued his copper-plate grants from Śrī Vikramapura, which town is now heard of for the first time, and which may unhesitatingly be identified with the extensive ruins of a city known at present by the name of Rāmpāl, situated in the heart of the Vikrampur *parganā* of the Dacca district.

The Chandras were ousted in the beginning of the 11th century by the Varmmans, who in their turn made room for the Senas towards the end of the same century. Lakṣmaṇa Sena, as is well-known, was ousted from his throne by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar in 1202 A. D. Buddhism had begun to decline in these parts with the fall of the Chandras. The Varmmans and the Senas were no friends of Buddhism. With the coming of the Muhammadans, both Brahmanism and Buddhism suffered a serious set-back.

* Mr. Colebrooke read পট্টিকেষানগর্য্যাম্ and thus missed the reference to Paṭṭikera.

Bengal sculpture went out like a lamp and the art was forgotten within half a century. Buddhism gradually bled to death and never revived. Though the Senas continued to be the masters of these parts during the whole of the 13th century, sculpture never again raised its head.

The two illustrated manuscripts of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, one from the Cambridge University Library (Mss. Add. 1643) and the other from the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Mss. A. 15), contain a number of pictures of the Buddhist deities of India, famous in the 11th century A. D. Dr. Foucher gives a catalogue of the miniatures contained in both the works in the first volume of his Buddhist Iconography. The following descriptive list of the deities that belonged to Vaṅga and Samataṭa proper, has been compiled from that source. Mr. H. E. Stapleton, I.E.S., sometime Honorary Secretary of the Dacca Museum Committee, obtained photographic copies of all these miniatures except two, at his own expense. These photographs are reproduced here with his kind permission.

Cambridge Mss. No. Add. 1643.

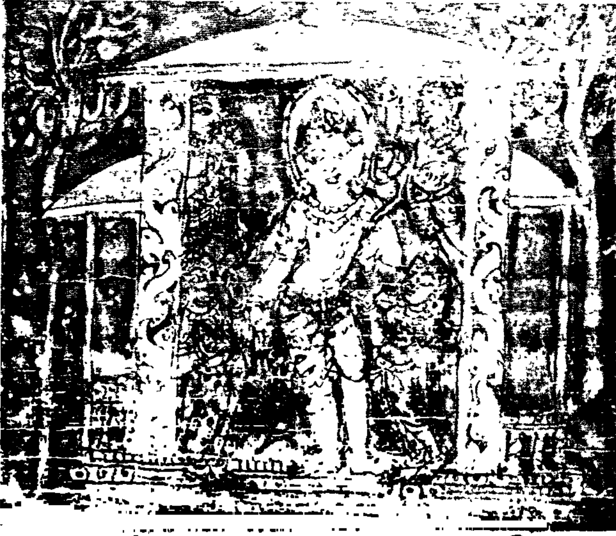
No. 17. *Chandradvīpe Bhagavatī Tārā Āriṣasthāna.*

This image is very much like $\frac{\text{I. B. (v) a}}{2}$ below and appears to have been a Śyāmā Tārā of the Khadiravanī class. Mārīchī and Ekajaṭā on the two sides are absent but the eight attendant Tārās are there.

No. 19. *Chaṁpitalā Lokanātha Samataṭe Āriṣasthāna.*

There is a village in the Tippera district, Cāṁpitalā, famous for its learning. This image of Lokanātha appears to have belonged to this village or to a village of similar name.

Lokanātha is seen standing in *ābhaṅga* pose, boon in his right hand and a lotus with a long stalk in the left. Tārā stands to his right with similar attributes. A male figure



(a) Champitalā Lokanātha.



(b) Chandradvīpe Bhagavatī Tara.



(c) Samatate Jayatunga Lokanātha.



(d) Pattikere Chunda.

standing to his right appears to be Hayagrīva, though he has not the horse's head. Two Vidyādharas are represented in sky on the two sides of the head of Lokanātha.

No. 51. *Paṭṭikere Chuṇḍāvarabhavane Chuṇḍā.*

This miniature has been illustrated by Foucher as No. 4, Plate VIII, in the first volume of his Buddhist Iconography. The picture shows the goddess as sitting on the lotus seat in *Vajrāsana* and having 16 arms. The two normal hands perform the *mudrā* of *Dharmmachakrapravartana.* The two lowermost hands appear to be in *Varada* and *Abhaya Mudrā.* The remaining twelve hands hold different weapons.

No. 55. *Harikeladeśe Śīla-Lokanātha.*

Mr. Stapleton omitted to obtain a photograph of this miniature. The following is Dr. Foucher's description.

"Bodhisattva white, standing, with six hands, the right hands—1, in charity, 2, holding a lotus, 3, a rosary. The left hands—1, in charity, 2, indistinct, 3, the book. Four assistants ; to the right, 1, kneeling, with an enormous belly, long beak-shaped mouth, here yellow,—*preta* ; 2, Bodhisattva green Tārā, (the blue colour of the lotus has been forgotten). On the left—1, red, 2, yellow, with 4 hands (Tārā)."

No. 59. *Samataṭe Jayatuṅga-Lokanātha.*

The god sits on the lotus-seat with the right leg pendant. The right hand has the *vara mudrā,*—the left has the lotus with stalk. Tārā and Hayagrīva sit on the right and the left respectively.

Jayatuṅga appears to have been the name of a place somewhere in the Tippera district. The Tippera plate of Lokanātha also mentions the place as Jayatuṅgavarṣa, but the editor Mr. R. G. Basak has taken the term to mean the name of a person. (Ep. Ind. Vol XV, page 303.)

A. S. B. Manuscript No. A. 15.

No. 19. *Samataṭe Buddhārdhī Bhagavatī Tārā.*

This image also, like No. 17 described above, was a Śyāmā Tārā in *lalitāsana*, attended by eight other Tārās. It is not clear what is meant by the epithet *Buddhārdhī.*

No. 21. *Chaṁpita Lokanātha Bhaṭṭāraka.*

This appears to be the same image, as Chaṁpitalā Lokanātha, No. 19 of the Cambridge manuscript. But Tārā and Hayagrīva on the two sides of the standing figure of Lokanātha are here represented sitting, and not standing, as in the Cambridge manuscript. The miniature is a fine sample of East Indian painting of the 11th century A. D.

 [TO FACE P. 14.]



(a) Samataṭe Buddhārdhi Bhagavatī Tārā.



(b) Champita (lā) Lokanātha Bhaṭṭāraka.

Introduction.

Indian Iconography, whether Buddhistic or Brahmanical, is by no means a simple study. Its intricacies almost always scare away the ordinary student of antiquities, while serious students are drawn away by fields less abounding in pit-falls and uncertainties. This explains the paucity of workers in the field. The writings of Hodgson and Waddel did a great deal in elucidating Buddhist Iconography and Dr. Foucher's excellent works gave us the first systematic attempt to grapple with the whole subject. The latest work on the subject is that of Miss A. Getty. It contains much useful information and for Indian students it is a handy book of reference, because it is written in the English language. But from Indian point of view again, it has serious drawbacks. Not only is Miss Getty no Sanskritist and thus could utilise no original works like the *Sādhana-mālā-tantra*, but her work is almost entirely based on materials collected in Buddhistic countries outside India. A comprehensive Buddhist Iconography based on materials available in India has yet to be written.

The following short sketch of the hierarchy of the Buddhist gods and goddesses will, I trust, help to lessen to some extent the repellent character of iconographical studies to the general reader. The relation between the different emanations, between the gods themselves as well as between the male and the female divinities, is unfortunately not always clear. Sometimes the identity itself is doubtful or ambiguous and the texts consulted by the compiler have not sufficed to solve all the problems raised. Only students more fortunately circumstanced, with ample original materials at hand for consultation, can expect to do justice to these intricate studies.

The following outline is sketched not with the confidence or assurance that all its details are undisputed or unanimous; but it is offered as the simplest key to a primary understanding of the deities of the Buddhist Pantheon. It should, however, be clearly understood that the conceptions of different countries are often different: that the Buddhist Pantheon did not spring forth in some definite early date as a complete whole, but the different deities are the outcome of different schools and periods of thought and that only in a very late period did the Buddhists have a Pantheon approaching anything like the symmetrical and complete picture that is presented below.

Ādi Buddha and Ādi Prajñā may, for all practical purposes, be taken as the Universal Father and the Universal Mother of the Buddhist hierarchy of gods. Ādi Prajñā is also sometimes called Prajñā-Pāramitā,—the Saving Wisdom. The position of the pair is akin to *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* or *Śiva* and *Śakti* of the Brahmanical conception.

Five Dhyānī Buddhas (*i. e.* Buddhas deep in eternal meditation) are conceived to have emanated from the pair. They take no part in the affairs of the world. Their names and respective functions will be clear from the following table.

Names of the Dhyani Buddhas.	Quarters occupied by them.	Representative elements.	Senses proceeding from them.	Colour.
Vairochana	Central	Ether	Sound	White
Aksobhya	East	Air	Touch	Blue
Ratnasambhava	South	Fire	Sight	Yellow
Amitabha	West	Water	Taste	Red
Amoghasiddhi	North	Earth	Smell	Green

The philosophy of this conception is apparent and we need not stop here to discuss it. These Dhyānī Buddhas are seldom portrayed individually, but they pretty often appear on the tiara of the male and the female divinities emanated from them, or round their heads in groups of five. When the latter is the case, the parental Dhyānī Buddha always occupies the central position. (Waddell's Buddhism of Tibet, P. 340). As the identification of an image often depends upon the right recognition of the parental Dhyānī Buddha, it is important to have knowledge of the precise attitudes and distinctive marks of these Dhyānī Buddhas. All the five Dhyānī Buddhas are seated in Vajrāsana or Adamantine pose. In this pose the legs are closely crossed and locked and the soles of the feet are visible. Each of these Buddhas, however, has a different attitude.

Vairochana:—He has the *Uttarabodhi mudrā* or the *Dharmma-chakra-mudrā.** In the first attitude, the index finger and the thumb of each hand are joined and held almost in contact with the breast at the level of the heart. In the second attitude the thumb and the index fingers of the right hand are placed in contact with those of the left hand in such a manner as if the right hand is going to turn a wheel by a twist.

Aksobhya:—*Bhūmisparśa Mudrā.* The left hand is placed on the lap; the right hand touches the earth, back of this hand to the front.

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* Vairochana is sometimes given the *Uttarabodhi* and sometimes the *Dharmma-chakra mudra* by Waddell (Vide Buddhism of Tibet, Pages 337, 349 and 350) which are distinguished by him on page 337. The actual representations of Vairochana that I had opportunity to examine, among the groups of five Dhyani Buddhas that often appear round the head of Buddhist images, or on the tiara of Marichi images, were always too crude to allow of a decision on the point. Dr. Foucher is disinclined to acknowledge the existence of a separate *mudra* called *Uttarabodhi mudra*—which he characterised as 'existing only in some Lama's brains.'

Ratna-Sambhava:—*Varada* or the boon-bestowing *Mudrā.* The same as above but the palm of the right hand to the front.

Amitabha :—*Samāhita* or 'Sunk-in-meditation' *Mudrā.* One hand resting over the other in the lap in the middle line of the body, with the palms upwards.

Amogha-siddhi :—*Abhaya* or protection-giving *Mudrā.* Left hand placed on the lap; right hand elevated up to the breast, palm to the front and fingers directed upwards.

The *Śaktis* or spouses given to these Dhyānī Buddhas never became very popular. Sculptures in high relief of these five *Śaktis* are said to be existing in the Monastery of Yama Guti at Kāthmāṇḍu in Nepal. (Getty, p. 122). Ordinarily, they are seldom met with. The following equation shows them with their lords.

Vairochana = Vajradhātvīśvarī.

Akṣobhya = Lochanā.

Ratna-sambhava = Māmakī.

Amitābha = Pāṇḍarā.

Amogha-siddhi = Tārā.

It has already been said that the Dhyānī Buddhas are passive and in deep meditation. For purposes of creation they have each an active counterpart called *Bodhi-sattva.* These Bodhisattvas, in successive ages, uphold the creation and then retire and merge again into their original sources. The Bodhisattvas exert their influence over the universe in successive ages through the most exalted of human beings called *Mānuṣī Buddhas* or Buddhas incarnate. They are a sort of human agent to the Bodhisattvas. The following table will explain the relations.

Dhyani Buddhas	Corresponding Dhyani Bodhisattvas	Corresponding Manusi Buddhas
Vairochana	Sāmanta-bhadra	Krakuchandra
Aksobhya	Vajrapani	Kanakamuni
Ratna-sambhava	Ratnapani	Kasyapa
Amitabha	Avalokitesvara	Gautama
Amogha-siddhi	Visvapani	Maitreya

Three Ages have already passed and the present is the 4th world, being the creation of Avalokiteśvara. The Mānuṣī Buddha of this Age is Gautama Buddha, the Śākya *muni*. Five thousand years after the *nirvāṇa* of Gautama Buddha, Viśvapāṇi Bodhisattva will create the 5th World and Maitreya will appear as the Mānuṣī Buddha.

It should be noted here that the Bodhisattvas are sometimes represented in a group of eight instead of five by the deletion of Ratnapāṇi and Viśvapāṇi from the original five and the addition of five new names, viz :—Akāśa-garbha, Kṣiti-garbha, Sarvva-nivāraṇa-viṣkambhin, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya. Of these, Maitreya already appears in the list of Mānuṣī Buddhas. The remaining four are new and by far the most important of them is Mañju-śrī.

Goddesses are numerous in the Buddhist Pantheon and it is not always an easy matter to determine whose spouse a goddess is, or what her exact position is meant to be. The more important goddesses have the rank of Bodhisattvas, *i. e.* they are of the same rank as Sāmantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, etc.

They are as much emanations from the Dhyānī Buddhas, as the male Bodhisattvas are. This oneness of origin led to the union of the male and female Bodhisattvas proceeding from the same Dhyānī Buddha; but very great confusion arises on account of the fact that the union is not pronounced in all the cases. Sometimes the great number of emanations or different and quite individualistic forms of the same goddess add to the confusion.

Order can be restored to a considerable extent in this confusion by arranging the goddesses into separate groups according to the parent Dhyānī Buddhas. *Sādhanās* will not always tell us from which particular Dhyānī Buddha a goddess is derived and sometimes different *Sādhanās* of the same goddess give her different parental Buddhas. But this handicap can be removed to a certain extent by a study of the extant samples in stone, metal and painting which often portray the parental Buddha on the tiara or over the head. This system does not appear to have been followed by any writer on Buddhist Iconography, but it seems to be more scientific than the confused descriptions that obtain.

The most popular Buddhist goddess, as is well known, is Tārā. She should not be confused with her namesake, the spouse of Amoghasiddhi. Tārā as spouse of Amoghasiddhi sits in *Lalitāsana* with one leg pendant,—her right hand in the *Vara-mudrā* and left in the *Vitarka-mudrā*. On her two sides two lotus flowers rise up to her shoulders and each of them supports a double Vajra (Getty, P. 122). But as she is very seldom met with, she may be left out of consideration.

The Tārās ordinarily met with are grouped into five classes according to the colour of their body which they derive from their parental Dhyānī Buddhas, each of whom, it will be remembered, has a distinct colour of his own. Thus there are five varieties of Tārās :—White, Blue, Yellow, Red and

Green. Getty says (P. 106) that they are believed to be the *Śaktis* of the Dhyānī Buddhas from whom they originated. Perhaps the more probable and provable theory is that they are the *Śaktis* of the Bodhisattvas originating from the same sources,—the same emanation dividing itself into the male and the female energies.

From the principle enunciated above, the principal goddesses may be grouped as below :—

From Vairochana— { White Tārā[1] Uṣṇīṣavijayā[2].
(White) { Jāṅgulī Tārā. Mārichī.

,, Akṣobhya—Nīlā Tārā or Ekajatā.
(Blue)

,, Ratnasambhava— { Yellow Tārā.[3] Vasudhārā.
(Yellow) { Vajra Tārā.

,, Amitābha— { Raktā Tārā or Kurukullā, Sitātapatrā,
(Red) { Bhṛkuṭi.

,, Amoghasiddhi—Green Tārā, Parṇaśavarī.
(Green)

The position of the important Goddess Sarasvatī, who was certainly an importation from Brahmanism, is, like her consort Mañjuśrī, somewhat individualistic. She appears to be sometimes identified with Āryyā Jāṅgulī, a form of white Tārā and the milk-white colour of her body may also have drawn

1. But Sita Tara or WhiteTara is sometimes said to be a form of Green Tara (Getty. P. 107) and is thus made to have emanated from Amoghasiddhi and not Vairochana.

2. It is very curious that the image of Usnisavijaya illustrated by Foucher on page 87 of his Iconographie, Part II, has the figure of Aksobhya over her head and not of Vairochana as required by the *Sadhana*. She should therefore, according to the system I have enunciated, be classified under Aksobhya and not Vairochana.

3. Yellow Tara has been classed with Ratnasambhava as she consistently ought to be. But the *Sadhana* quoted by Foucher (II. p. 69) has ***Amitabha-mudritam***,—'stamped with the figure of Amitabha.' As is the case of White Tara who in reality appears to be only a variety of Green Tara, Yellow Tara may only be a variety of Rakta Tara and thus was supposed to have emanated from the red Amitabha.

her to the fold of Vairochana. But no direct connection seems to exist between Vairochana and Sarasvatī.

Below this aristrocratic family of gods and goddesses, there are three more classes of divinities to be noticed. The first are the tutelary deities. All the gods and goddesses of the above family may of course assume the role of Protectors to their devotees, but the Protectors proper are gods like Yamāntaka, Jambhala, Hevajra, Heruka, Mahāmāyā, Samvara, Kālachakra and the Pañcharakṣās.

The next are a series of Defenders of the Faith or Dharmmapālas, such as Kuvera, Yama, Hayagrīva, Mahākāla, Yamāntaka, etc. They are always of terrible appearance.

The last is a group of deified personages, of whom the 16 Mahāsthaviras, Nāgārjuna and Padmasambhava appear to be the chief. The goddess Hāritī, spouse of Kuvera, would also appear to belong to this group.

The host of Dākinīs, Piśachas, Bhairavas, etc. that crowd the Budddhist pantheon at the base need not detain us. Their numbers are infinite and their characters indefinite.

Iconography of Buddhist Sculptures
in the
DACCA MUSEUM.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES.

(A) MALE DIVINITIES.

(i) ADI BUDDHA.

a. Vajrasattva.

Ādi Buddha is very seldom portrayed. He is the eternal and the self-existent source of all creation and is hardly material enough for portrayal.

Vajradhara is a sort of active agent of Ādi Buddha and he is sometimes identified with a god of similar name called Vajrasattva.

Vajradhara as Dharmmavajra has in his right hand a double *Vajra* balanced at the breast. A bell is held on the thigh with the left hand. Vajrasattva has also similar attributes, but the *Vajra* in the right hand appears to be single and not double.

There is no sample of Vajrasattva in the collections of the Dacca Museum. The one described below is preserved in the house of Babu Kāmākhyā Nātha Vandyopādhyāya in the village of Sukhabāspur,—Police station Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca.

[1. Image of Vajrasattva in black stone, 4″×3″. Inscribed on the back with the Buddhist creed "*Ye Dharmmā*" etc.[1], in the Bengali script of the 10th century A. D. The god sits with his legs one upon the other, (not locked, as required by the canons) and the soles of his feet are visible. His right hand balances a *Vajra* at his breast and the left holds the bell on the hip. The body and the head are slightly bent to the left in *Ābhaṅga* pose, but probably this has no iconographical significance and only depicts the natural equipoise of the body in balancing the Vajra at the breast, with the right hand. It may be noted that in the illustration of Vajrasattva published in Foucher's Iconographie Bouddhique, Vol. 1, Plate VI, fig. 6, the body of the god shows a similar bent to the left. This appears to have been a favourite pose of Vajrasattva. This pose is seen also in the representation of Vajrasattva occurring on the sculpture of Śyāmā Tārā from Sompārā described below. But the straight pose, *samabhaṅga*, was also used, as may be seen from the illustration of Vajrasattva published by Foucher in Iconographie, Vol. 1. page 22, and, also from the curious draped representation of Vajrasattva occurring below the lotus seat of the image of Lokeśvara from Belāśa, described below. Note the two lions with faces in opposite directions depicted below the present image.]

1. A. (ii) BODHISATTVAS.

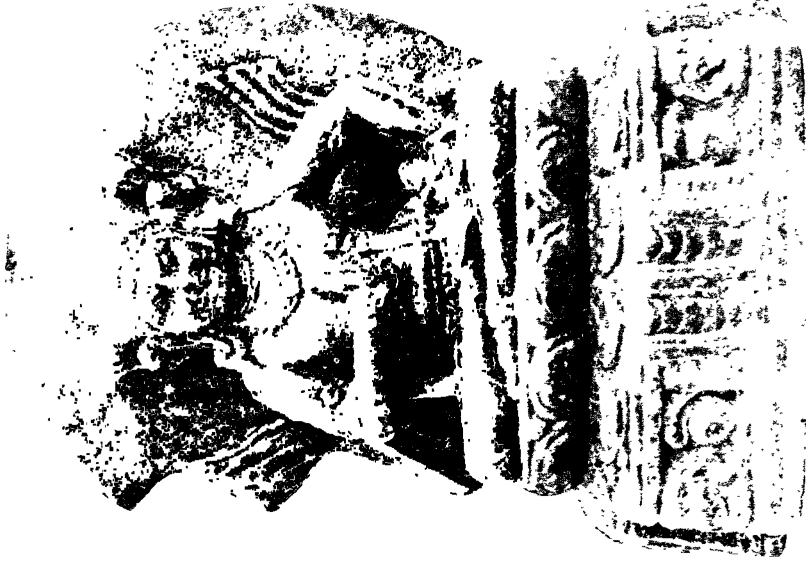
a. Avalokitesvara.

Avalokiteśvara, Avalokita, Lokeśvara and Lokanātha, are the names which the Buddhists love to address to this, their

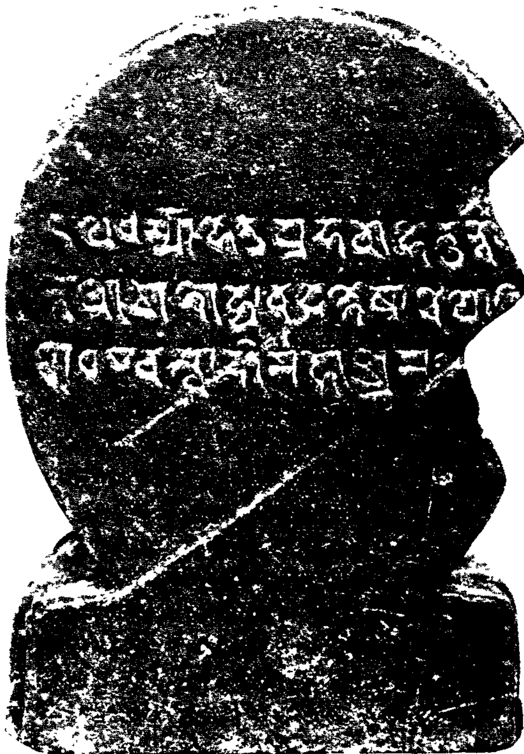
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[1] *Ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetuṁ teṣāṁ tathāgato*
Hyavadatteṣañcha yo nirodha evaṁvādī mahāśramaṇah.

(Of all dispositions proceeding from a cause, the Tathagata (i. e. Buddha) has explained the cause, and he has explained their cessation also. This is the doctrine of the great Sramana, i. e. the Buddha.)



I. A. (i) a. Vajrasattva from Sukhabaspur (a).



Do. Inscription on the back (b).



Vajrasattva on Syāmātārā (c).

PLATE IV.

[To face p. 25.]



A. (ii) a. Octo-alloy Lokanātha from Sylhet.

most favourite deity. He is the Keen-seeing One, the Great Lord of Mercy,—*Mahākaruṇā.* He has many different forms, no less than 108 of which are sometimes distinguished.

$\frac{\text{1. A. (ii) a.}}{1}$ An image of Lokanātha in *octo-alloy* metal, 2′ 8″×11″. It is exactly like the figures published in Foucher's Iconographie Bouddhique, vol 1, plate IV., p. 106, Nos. 2 and 3. The god stands on a lotus. He has a lotus with a long stalk in his left hand and he blesses mankind with his right hand. His clothing reaches down to the ankle and not to the knee, as is usually seen in these old images. Locks of wavy hair fall on his shoulders. Amitābha in miniature is represented on his crest.

The image is apparently very old. It is in a good state of preservation but is much worn at all the sharp points. Four seals are attached to its back containing, in all probability, the Buddhist creed "*Ye Dharmmā*" etc. But the letters are too worn to be decipherable. The style of the script is cursive and of the form prevalent in Eastern India during the 8th-9th century A. D. Discovered at Bandarbazar, Sylhet.

$\frac{\text{1. A. (ii) a.}}{2}$ Image of Khasarpaṇa Lokanātha in black chlorite stone, 2′-7″×2′-1″ in *Ardhaparyyaṅka* posture. Much mutilated, but was certainly a striking piece of sculpture when entire. The pedestal is inscribed with two lines of inscription in the script of the 10th-11th century A. D. The upper line has only the latter half preserved, which reads like ভমানুখানিতাচ ০৭৮, and seems to have recorded the name of the sculptor and the year of installation. The figures 078[1] inverted give the

[1] But it should be noted that the figures 8 has an inverted shape like ד and not the correct shape which is ৮.

number 870, which may be the year, in Śaka era, of the installation of the image. The lower line reads :—

> ৫ দেধর্ম্মোয়ং মহাযানযায়িন বরতাপসক ঈশ্বর সিংঘস যদত্রপুণ্যন্তদ্ভবত্ব [‌া]
> চার্য্যে।.........

(This is the religious gift of the great anchorite Iśvarasimha, a follower of the Mahāyāna doctrine ; whatever merit there be (in the act) let it accrue to the preceptor ....)

The lotus throne of the Bodhisattva is depicted as supported in the nether regions by two Nāgas. The figure of Green Tārā standing to the right of the god is very much mutilated, but can be recognised from the half-blown lotus in her left hand. The figure of Sudhanakumāra is broken away and lost. A corpulent sitting figure in the *Tarjjanī mudrā* to the left of the god, though headless, can be indentified as Hayagrīva, from the tiger's skin which he wears. Further to the left is a four-armed female figure, evidently Bhṛkutī. One left hand that held the *Kamaṇḍalu* and a right hand that did homage (*Vandanābhinaya*) to the god, can still be distinguished.

To the left of the Nāgas, underneath the lotus seat, is depicted a draped figure sitting in Vajrāsana with legs locked and the soles of the feet visible. He bears a thunder-bolt in his right hand which rests on the sole of the left foot while the left hand carries a bell and rests similarly on the sole of the right foot. This appears to be a representation of Vajrasattva.

In the lowest panel, the Seven Jewels of the Buddhists are represented in the following order from left to right. 1. Horse. 2. Swordsman. 3. Financier. 4. Damsel. 5. Jewel. 6. Wheel. 7. Elephant.

Found at Belāśa, P. S. Baḍkāmtā, District Tippera.

Presented by Babu Anukūla Chandra Rāya, B. A.



(a) Seals on the back of Lokanātha from Sylhet.



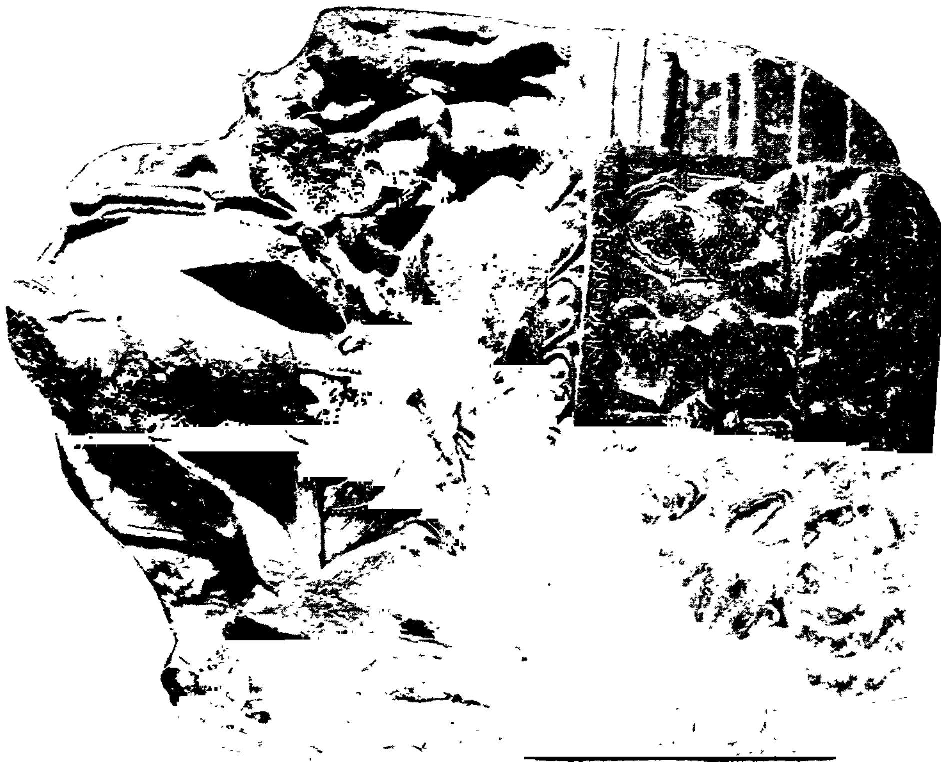
(b) One of the Seals enlarged eight times.

PLATE VI.

[TO FACE P. 27.]



(b) Lokanātha. ⅓ A. (n) a.



(a). Lokanātha from Belāsa. ½ A. (n) a.

$\frac{\text{1. A. (ii) a}}{3}$ Image of Lokanātha in *Octo-alloy* metal. $3'' \times 2''$. It was originally gilt and the gilding can still be traced in places. It is a very beautiful miniature, seated in the *Lalitāsana*, i. e., with the right leg folded and the left hanging gracefully from the seat and resting on a lotus. The left hand holds a lotus with long stalk and the right is in the *Abhaya mudrā*. From the Raghurāmpur excavation.

$\frac{\text{1. A. (ii) a}}{4}$ Image of Lokanātha in *Octo-alloy* metal, $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$. The god sits in the *Ardhaparyyaṅka* posture. The right hand bestows *Abhaya* or protection. The left hand holds a lotus. Cf. A similar figure, Getty, P. 48. Pl. XXI. fig. d. Curly hairs fall in locks over the shoulders. There is a **Seal** on the back containing perhaps the usual formula, but the letters are too decayed to be decipherable. The style of the writing is cursive and appears to be of about the 8th-9th century A. D.

Found in the Śailadaha river in the border of the Faridpur and the Barisal districts and procured from Bhagya Barui, *Chowkidar* of village Piñjuri, P. S. Koṭālipāḍā, District Faridpur.

[1. A twelve-armed image of Lokanātha found at Sonāraṅg, District Dacca and presented by Babu Jogendra Nāth Gupta to the Museum of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* of Calcutta.

2. An image of Lokanātha sitting in easy posture under a trifolio arch surmounted by five Dhyānī Buddhas. From Mulchar, District Dacca. Catalogued as No. $\frac{\text{A (b) 3}}{122}$ in the Rajshahi Museum Catalogue.

3. A standing image of Padmapāṇi Lokanātha in black stone from Sonāraṅg, District Dacca. In the Rajshahi Museum. Catalogue No. $\frac{\text{A (b) 4}}{93}$.

4. Image of Khasarpaṇa Lokanātha, in *Lalitāsana*, in black stone—about $45'' \times 27''$. It is in a fine state of

preservation and is inscribed with the Buddhist creed in the script of the 10th-11th century A. D. Note Tārā and Sudhana-kumāra on the right of the god, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkutī on his left, the five Dhyānī Buddhas round his head with Amitābha in the centre as well as on his tiara, the Seven Jewels and the *Preta* Sūchīmukha below the lotus seat.

Found at Mahākālī, a village situated in the southern suburbs of the ancient city of Vikramapura, at present known as Rāmpāl in the Munsiganj sub-division of the Dacca district. Now preserved in the village of Nāhāpārā, at the house of Babu Bhuban Chandra Mitra.]

1. A. (ii) b. MANJUSRI.

Mañjuśrī, the soft-beautied one or Mañjughoṣa, the mellow-voiced one, as he is sometimes called, is the Buddhist god of learning and culture. A book, a sword and a blue lotus are his special symbols. With the Mañjuśrī described below, compare Foucher, vol. I No. 33, Page 213.

$\frac{\text{1. A. (ii) b}}{\text{1}}$ Image of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva in black chlorite stone. 2′7″×13″. The god has the sword of knowledge in his right hand raised to cleave the darkness of ignorance, while he presses the book of Saving Wisdom (Prajñapāra-mitā) against his breast with his left hand. A rather beautiful piece of sculpture. The pedestal is inscribed with two lines of inscription in the script of about the 12th century A. D :—

৻ মহামাং শ্রীশ্রীচণ্ডীপ্রসাদীয় মহারা [জ]
শ্রী জামমএরেন করিত ।

This is certainly a record of dedication, but it is difficult to understand what this short label exactly means. The god is sitting in the meditative pose with the legs locked and soles of the feet visible, on a lotus throne supported by two Nāgas.



(a) Lokanātha from Mahākālī.



(b) Mañjuśrī from Jālkundī.

He wears a rich striped cloth with artistic border falling below his knee and has elaborate ornaments all over his body. The upper garment consists of a scarf encircling the breast and with the two ends flowing.

The *Sādhanā* quoted by Foucher (Iconographie, II. P 40-41) provides that Akṣobhya should be on the tiara of Mañjuśrī and Vairochana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi should be on his four sides. But the crown of the god in this image is broken and lost and we cannot be sure if any Dhyānī Buddha found a place there. The place immediately above the head of the god is occupied by an exact replica in miniature of himself while three other similar miniatures appear on the sculpture,—one on the right, the second on the left and the third below the seat of the god. In this respect this image has a very close resemblance to a somewhat late image of Mañjuśrī found in Java and now in the Berlin Museum. This image is inscribed and bears the date of 1265 Saka—1343 A. D. It is illustrated on page 200 of Grunwedel's 'Buddhist Art in India' translated into English by J. Burgess. On this image also, four miniature replicas of the main image appear, two on the two sides, on the same pedestal,—as in the image in the Dacca Museum,—and two on the two sides of the head. It appears from a *Sādhanā* in the Sādhanamālā that this particular kind of Mañjuśrī depicting four replicas of the main image is known as the *Arapachana* Mañjuśrī.

Besides the four replicas in miniature, the miniatures of Vairochana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Akṣobhya are represented clockwise round the head of the god ; but there is no Amoghasiddhi. May it be that the tiara of the god was occupied by Amoghasiddhi ?

Found from a tank called *Yugī Baḍīr Pukur* in the village of Jālkuṇḍī, east of the Fatullā station on the railway line from Dacca to Narayanganj. Presented by Babu Rājendra Kumāra Datta.

I. A. (iii) MANUSI BUDDHAS.

a. Gautama Buddha.

Images of Gautama Buddha are numerous in East Bengal. The majority of them are depicted in the *Bhūmisparśa mudrā* or the attitude of touching the earth with the right hand, in calling the Earth to witness his attainment of the Supreme Knowledge and his conquest over Māra, the tempter.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a}}{1}$ Image of the Buddha in bold relief, in black stone, 3′5″×1′9″. The Buddha sits in the Adamantine pose (Vajrāsana) with the soles of his feet visible. Circles denoting *Chakras* are on the soles and on the palm of the left hand. These marks are believed to be a sign of greatness and divinity. An elaborate wrapper covers his body in folds leaving the right hand and the right half of the breast bare. A second piece of cloth is placed on the left shoulder. The throat has the *Trivali* or the three graceful folds. The pierced earlobes almost touch the shoulders. The head has a conical *uṣṇīṣa* and spiral knots on it denote curly hairs. A halo forms the back-ground of the head.

Below the *Padmāsana*, or the lotus-seat, there are the following miniature representations, containing, from proper left :— (1) Elephant. (2) Horse. (3) A corpulent squatting swordsman, the general. (4) Damsel, seated with folded hands. (5) *Vajra*, occuping exactly the central position. (6) *Chakra* or discus. (7) A round jewel on a setting. (8) A corpulent squatting male figure, the financier. (9) Some offerings. (10) A squatting bearded man with a skull-cap holding up to the Buddha something like a torch and a censer with his hands : looks like a priest. The Vajra in the centre is symbolical of the Vajrāsana of the Buddha. The remaining first seven figures denote the Seven Jewels of the Buddhists.



Buddha from Ujāni. 1. A. (iii) a / i



(a) Plaque form Raghurāmpur.



(b) Buddha from Mahākālī.

The top of the piece exhibits three branches of the Bodhi (*Aśvattha*) tree. On the two sides are two Vidyādharas with garlands.

Found at Ujāni in the Gopālganj Sub-Division of the Faridpur district, and presented by Babu Mahima Chandra Rāya, head of the family traditionally called the Rājāhs of Ujāni.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a.}}{2}$ Image of the Buddha in round, in white marble, 1′-4″×10″. *Vajrāsana*, *Bhūmisparśa Mudrā.* To the back of the image still clings some laquer and gilding. Evidently the image was lacquered and gilt all over. The lobes of the ears touch the shoulders. The image looks as if it is a production of the Burmese Art. The surface of the image is corroded and rough through long immersion in water.

Found by Bālaka Mājhi in the Dāmechā river at Kāchlābāṭi under the Tārāil P. S., in the Kiśorganj Sub-Division of the Mymensingh district.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a.}}{3}$ A terra-cotta plaque, 5″×3″, containing the image of the Buddha in the *Bhūmisparśa* posture under a trifolio arch surmounted by a *Śikhara* or pinnacle,—intended to represent the Buddha inside the great temple at Vajrāsana Vihāra, i. e. Buddha Gayā. Two big *Stūpas* are represented on the two sides of the Buddha, while six other smaller *stūpas* are seen scattered about him at varying distances. The Buddhist creed is inscribed beneath the lotus seat of the Buddha in the script of the 11th century A. D. For an exactly similar plaque, *vide* Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Plate XXIV. E.

From the excavation of a tank at Raghurāmpur, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a.}}{4}$ Ditto, top broken away. The same size. The same find place.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a.}}{5}$ Buddha in meditation in the *Bhūmisparśa* posture in *octo-alloy* metal, $3'' \times 2''$. Head broken away and lost. Found at Āsrafpur along with the copper-plate grants of Devakhaḍga. Presented by Khan Bahadur Sayid Aulad Hasan.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a.}}{6}$ Four Buddhas seated with legs closely locked in the *Dhyāna Mudrā* in 4 niches on two of the four perpendicular faces of a cubical slab of sand-stone, $12'' \times 10''$. The sandstone used is of very bad quality and the slab has got broken into two. Possibly the cube formed part of a Chaitya.

From Chūrāin, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca.

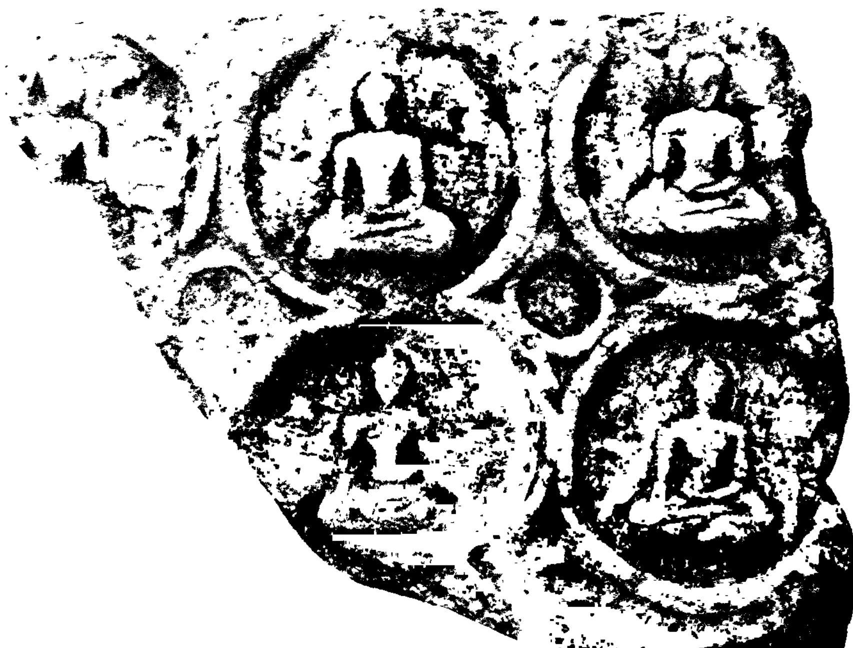
$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a.}}{7}$ A terra-cotta slab, $1' \times 10'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ containing 8 niches with a figure, $3'' \times 2''$, in each, diagonally arranged in rows of three, in three different postures,—successively, in *Dhyāna*, *Lalita* and *Mahārājalīlā Āsanas.* They probably represent the Buddhist Trinity Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī and Lokanātha. These slabs, which are abundant in the ruins of a place called Rājāsan at Sābhār, Dt. Dacca, appear to have decorated the outside of Buddhist temples.

From a trial excavation at Rājāsan by Mr. H. E. Stapleton, I. E. S. and Babu Harendra Nātha Ghoṣa, B. A.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a.}}{8}$ Ditto. A thin plaque containing only one figure of a Bodhisattva, probably Lokanātha in the *Lalitākṣepa* posture. Find-place, same as No. 7.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a.}}{9}$ Terra-cotta slab, $10'' \times 6''$, with five niches, each with a Buddha in the *Bhūmisparśa* posture, Find-place, same as No. 7.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a.}}{10}$ Terra-cotta slab with seventeen niches. Figures of the Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas grouped in three different postures, like No. 7. Find place, same as No. 7.



(a) Terra-cotta from Sabhar.



(b) Terra-cotta from Sābhār.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a}}{11}$. Terra-cotta slab from Sābhār stamped with the images of the Buddha and the Bodhisāttvas. Size 11″×7″.

Presented by Babu Vīrendra Nātha Vasu.

[1. Image of the Buddha in the *Dhyāna Mudrā* in Black stone, found at Mahākālī, P. S. Munshiganj, Dt. Dacca. Obtained by late Babu Vaikunthanātha Sena, and now preserved in the house of late Babu Dīnanātha Sena at Gendāriā, in the town of Dacca. About 3′-2″ high. Buddha sitting in the meditative pose, cross-legged, hands placed one upon the other on the lap. The pinnacle of the temple at Buddha Gaya appears over the trifolio arch under which he sits. Representations of a fabulous animal,—half horse, half lion, standing erect over a crouching elephant on the right and the left of the image, outside the pillars of the arch.

2. A miniature *Octo-alloy* metal image of the Buddha in the *Bhūmisparśa* posture worshipped as goddess Sarasvatī in the house of Babu Jagadīśa Kumāra Mazumdār at Pāikpārā, Dt. Dacca.

3. An image of the Buddha in black stone, about 22″ high, in the *Bhūmisparśa Mudrā*, worshipped as Viṣṇu at Pior south-east of P. S. Badkāmtā, Dt. Tippera, in the house of one Pūrṇa Chandra Māhāto. The image is very well-preserved. *Kṛttimukha* is depicted at the top; four main events in the life of the Buddha, namely his birth, the attainment of the Buddhahood, the first preaching at Sārnāth and the attainment of Nirvāṇa at Kuśīnagara, are depicted in four scenes round the main figure. The image was discovered at the village of Vāgherpār, about five miles north of Pior. Vāgherpār is close to Bhārellā and Vihārmaṇḍal which have yielded a large number of images, Brahmanical and Buddhistic.

4. A stone image of the Buddha, similar to the one preserved at Gendāriā, Dacca, described above, found at

Bejgāon, P. S. Lauhajang, Dt. Dacca, and taken to the Rajshahi Museum,—catalogued there as No. $\frac{A (a) 6}{138}$.

5. Buddha, sitting cross-legged in the *Bhūmisparśa Mudrā* in black chlorite stone. The slab contains the design of a temple with a trifolio arch with two figures of geese on the two sides, and has the figures of the five Dhyānī Buddhas. at the top. In perfect preservation. From Betkā, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca. Taken to the Rajshahi Museum and catalogued as No. $\frac{A (a) 7}{73}$.

6. A terra-cotta slab from Sābhār containg an image of the Buddha about a foot high, in *Bhūmisparśa* posture; preserved in the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat.*

7. Image of the Dhyānī Buddha in *Bhūmisparśa Mudrā*, worshipped under the name of Chintāmaṇi Ṭhākur in the village of Nāltā near Gharisār in the Dt. of Faridpur. *Vide* an illustrated article on the image by Babu Hariprasanna Dāsa Gupta in the *Pravāsī* of 1320 B. S.].

1. A. (IV). TUTELARY DEITIES.

(a) Jambhala.

Jambhala is the Buddhist god of wealth. His other forms are Kuvera and Vaiśravaṇa. Kuvera, it should be noted, is also the god of wealth in the Brahmanical pantheon.

$\frac{1. A. (IV) a.}{1}$ A miniature stone image of Jambhala in the *Lalitākṣepa* posture, $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$. According to *sādhanā,* he should be,—"Of golden hue, big-bellied, with a citron in the right hand and a she-mongoose in the left." The present image has the last three features all right. The she-mongoose is represented as vomiting a jewel and is in reality a living purse. From the Raghurāmpur excavation.



(a) $\frac{\text{1. A (iv) a}}{1}$



(b) 1. A. (iv) a—[1]



(c) Do. Ins. on back.



(d) 1. A. (iv) a—[2]



(e) 1. A. (iv) a—[3]

Images of Jambhala.

[1. A miniature stone image of Jambhala, only 2 inches in height, discovered in a ditch by the homestead of Srīnātha Sarkār of Pāikpārā, Dt. Dacca, and worshipped as Śiva at his place. The image is apparently very old. It has a short inscription of two lines on its back in the Bengali script of the 9th century A. D. The inscription reads :—

Jambhala Jale (*ndrā*)
ya svāhā

It appears from this short inscription, which is the invocatory formula (*Vīja-mantra*) of Jambhala, that Jambhala was identified not only with Kuvera, the lord of riches, but he was sometimes identified also with Varuṇa, the lord of the waters, as the term *Jalendra* would seem to signify.

The god is represented as an uncouth corpulent figure sitting in *Bhadrāsana—i. e.*, as one would sit on a stool. The attributes of his hands are so worn away as to be unrecognisable.

2. A beautiful image of Jambhala in Black stone, about 2′ in height. It is worshipped as god Śiva at the village of Sukhabāspur, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca. The purse, namely the she-mongoose in the left hand of the god, is vomiting a jewel, while a jewel casket is represented overturned under the pendant right foot of the god. The god sits in *Lalitāsana*. Altogether, a very pleasing piece of sculpture.

3. Another Jambhala in greyish black stone, about 10″ in height, worshipped in the same place in the same temple.

4. Image of Jambhala in black stone, about 18″ high, worshipped as Kṛṣṇa Deva at Bihārmaṇḍal, P. S. Baḍkāmtā, Dt. Tippera.]

I. A. (iv) b. Heruka.

Images of Heruka are extremely rare and it was an agreeable surprise to meet with an almost life-size image of the

deity in black chlorite stone, in a good state of preservation, in the outlying district of Tippera, the ancient Samataṭa. The *Sādhanamālā* has several *Sādhanās* for Heruka of which the following is one[1] :—

নীলং নরচর্ম্মভৃতম্ কপালমালালঙ্কৃতশিরং জ্বলদূর্দ্ধপিঙ্গলকেশম্ রক্ত-বর্ত্তুলাক্ষম্ অন্ত্রসংগ্রন্থিতমুণ্ডমালাবলম্বিতম্ নরাস্থিরচিতাভরণম্ দ্বিভুজৈকমুখং দংষ্ট্রাকরালবদনম্ দক্ষিণকরে বজ্রধারিণম্ বামকরেণ পূর্ণকপালম্ বামস্কন্ধাসক্ত-চলৎঘণ্টিকাপতাকানরশিরোবিশ্ববজ্রালঙ্কতপঞ্চসূচীকবজ্রশিখরমধঃএকসূচীকবজ্রাকা-রম্যজ্ঞোপবীতবৎখট্বাঙ্গম্ বিশ্বপদ্মসূর্য্যে বামপাদম্ তস্যৈবোরৌ দক্ষিণচরণম্বিন্যস্য নৃত্যম্ কুর্ব্বন্তম্ হেরুকবীরম্ ভাবয়েৎ ।

A. S. B. Mss. 255 Folio.
Cambridge Mss. II. 48.

[The great warrior Heruka should be thus meditated upon: He is blue in colour. He wears human skin. His head is decorated by a garland of skulls and by Akṣobhya. His tawny hairs rise up like flames. He has bloodshot round eyes. He has a necklace hanging, formed of skulls joined together by entrails. He is bedecked with ornaments of human bones. He has two arms and one face. His face, with teeth protruding, is terrible to look at. He holds the thunderbolt with the right hand and in his left hand is a human skull full (of wine). On his left shoulder he bears a *khatvāṅga* which is (placed against his breast) like the Sacred Thread. Its top is shaped like the five-pointed thunder-bolt and the bottom is like the single-pointed one. It is decorated with human skulls and the *Viśvavajra* and to it is fastened a flapping banner with tinklers (at the end.) He has placed the left foot on the sun of the *Viśvapadma* and he is dancing on it with the right foot raised to the left thigh.]

1. I am indebted for the identification and the *Sadhana* to Sj. Binayatosa Bhattacharyya, M. A., whose treatise on Buddhist Iconography based on a critical study of the *Sadhanamala* is printing.

PLATE XII.

To face p. 30.



Heruka from Śubhapur. I. A (iv) b. / I

In another *Sādhanā*, Heruka is invoked as bestowing the Buddhahood and as a protector against all the worldly evils:—(বুদ্ধত্বদায়িনং ধ্যায়েৎ জগন্মারনিবারণম্) The image described below agrees in almost all the particulars with the *Sādhanā* translated above.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (iv) b.}}{\text{I}}$ Image of Heruka in black chlorite stone measuring 5′-5″ × 2′-9½″. The god is represented in the dancing attitude. He stands on the left leg, bent in the dancing attitude. The right leg is raised to the thigh of the left leg. The god is grinning horribly and wears a garland of 17 skulls. The right hand is upraised as if to hurl the *vajra*, which however is broken away and lost. The left hand carries the *khatvāṅga* with the banner, to the flowing ends of which two small bells are tied. The image of the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya appear on the blazing tiara. The god has very great resemblance to the goddess Kurukullā, as illustrated on Plate XLIII, Fig. 1. P. 129, of Getty's 'Gods of Northern Buddhism.'

Found at Śubhapur, a village close on the west of Bihārmaṇḍal, north of P. S. Baḍkāmtā, Dt. Tippera.

Presented by Babu Tārāpada Vasu.

I. A. (V). DEIFIED PERSONAGES.

a. Pindola.

Getty (P. 23 and 156) identifies Mānlā, the Bhaiṣaja Guru or the medicinal Buddha with Piṇḍola and gives an illustration, on Plate LX. c. "It is believed that at Mānlā's request, the power of curing all ills was conferred on him by Gautama Buddha". It is not clear if the identification of Piṇḍola with the medicinal Buddha rests on any ancient and authoritative text; but the history of the Buddhist saint Piṇḍola makes it probable that he was finally deified as a god of longevity.

The Dacca Museum has in its collection a miniature image of *octo-alloy*, similar to the one illustrated by Getty.

Divyāvadāna, in the section on Kunāla, gives many details of Piṇḍola's life and career. Below is given a free translation of the passages that deal with Piṇḍola. King Aśoka, after returning from his pilgrimage, resolved to bathe the Bodhi tree in fragrant waters and entertain the whole of the Buddhist Congregation for five years. The passages translated below commence with the assemblage of Buddhist Bhikṣhus from all quarters.

......When the king had said so, three lakhs of Bhikṣhus made their appearance,......but none of them went to occupy the seat of the Eldest.

The king said,—"Why is not the seat of the Eldest being occupied ?".........Yaśah, the Elder.........said,—"This is the seat of the Eldest, Oh great king."

"Is there any *Sthavira* who is older than yourself ?"—the king inquired.

"Yes, Mahārājā ; the Great Speaker, the Great Anchorite (*i. e.* Lord Buddha) ordained that this first seat should belong to Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja."

Then the king, his hairs standing on end like the bristles of the Kadamva flower, said,—"Is there even now alive a Bhikṣu who has seen the Buddha ?

The Sthavira replied,—"He exists, Oh great king, this saint, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja by name."

The king said, —" Oh Sthavira, shall we be able to see him ?"

The Sthavira replied,—"Presently, Oh great king, you shall see. This is the time of his arrival."

With a joyful mind the king said—(verse)

"This is my supreme gain, my highest pleasure,

"That I am going to see face to face that generous saint whose clan name is Bhāradvāja.

Then the king, with folded hands, remained gazing towards the sky. Soon after, the Sthavira Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, accompanied by many thousands of Arhats arrayed in the form of a crescent, came down from the sky like a swan and went forward and occupied the seat of the Eldest. All the Congregation received him standing. The king then looked at Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, hoary-headed, with the pupils of the eyes hidden by the folds of the skin of the eye-brows and brow and with his mind constantly meditating on all the Buddhas.

At this sight, the Rājā fell on Piṇḍola's feet like a tree severed from its roots, and rubbed his face and mouth on the feet of the saint. He then knelt on the ground and looking towards Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja with tears in his eyes, said with folded hands :—(verse)

"When I obtained this earth after killing all my enemies and became paramount sovereign, even then I was not so glad, as I am now, looking on you, venerable sir !

"By seeing you to-day. I have (as it were) seen the Tathāgata himself. By seeing you and by obtaining your favour, double joy has been my lot. Oh venerable sir ! have you really seen my Lord, the Buddha ?"

Then the Sthavira Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, pushing up his eye-brows by both his hands, looked at Aśoka and said :—(verse)

"Many a time have I seen the great and the peerless saint whose splendour was like the molten gold,—who had the thirty-two marks of greatness on his body and whose face was as beautiful as the autumn moon."...........

The king then goes on to ask the super-annuated saint about the occasions when he had seen the Buddha, and he enumerates the following occasions.

1. Once, when the Lord, after having defeated the followers of *Māra*, came to Rājagṛha for the first time with 500 followers, to pass the rains.

6

2. When the Lord came to Śrāvastī to conquer the heretics.

3. When he descended on the city of Saṁkāśyā, after residing in heaven 33 years and preaching the Law to his mother.

4. When, on the invitation of Sumagadhā, the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada, the Lord went to Pauṇḍravardhana with 500 followers, Piṇḍola also went after him. On that occasion the Lord commanded Piṇḍola not to attain *Nirvāṇa* as long as the Law remained.

5. (Translation) "When you, Mahārāja, (in your previous birth) through boyishness, threw a handful of dust, saying that it was a handful of wheat-flour, into the bowl of the Lord when he entered Rājagṛha for procuring food, and Rādhāgupta approved of this freak, the Lord ordained,—'This boy who plays at giving, will be king Aśoka in Pāṭaliputra, hundred years after my *Nirvāṇa*. He will be a Lord of the four quarters, a religious man and the director of religion. He will distribute the materials (ashes) of my body throughout the world by erecting 84000 Dharmmarājikās (and distributing the ashes among them).' At that time I was there."

The first of the occasions mentioned above perhaps saw Piṇḍola enter the Buddhist order. Piṇḍola omits to mention, that he himself was one of the chief actors of the second occasion mentioned. The Jātaka No. 483 (The Śarabha-mṛga Jātaka) furnishes us with fuller details of this occasion. A merchant of Rājagṛha placed a bowl on the top of a long pole and invited holy men to take it without the help of a ladder by the exertion of their supernatural powers. Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja rose in the air by his psychic powers and took the bowl. When the Buddha came to hear of this feat, he reproved Piṇḍola and forbade the Buddhist monks to use their miraculous powers. Soon after, the Buddha himself was challenged by the leaders of the rival schools of religious

thought to show his miraculous powers and thereupon followed the famous Great Miracle at Śrāvastī.

Jātaka No. 497 tells us further about Piṇḍola. On his way from Jetāvana he used to rest in the heat of the noon at Kośāmbī in the garden of its king Udayana, the story of whose love with Vāsavadattā figures so prominently in the literature of the early centuries of the Christian Era. One day Udayana came into the garden and fell asleep in the arms of a maid-servant. Thereupon, the other women who had come in the company of Udayana, left his presence and roamed about in the garden at pleasure. At the sight of the Buddhist saint, they collected round him and began to listen to his discourses. At this time, the king awoke and in his rage punished Piṇḍola by emptying a basketful of red ants over his body for presuming to preach to his womenfolk. This very Udayana, it is recorded, was converted to the Buddhist faith by hearing a discourse of Piṇḍola on self-restraint. (Buddhist India. P. 7.)

The fact that Piṇḍola is counted among the 16 Arhats of the Buddhist order, shows that he attained great sanctity and renown. Milinda Panho (S. B. E. Vol. 36, pages 335 and 345) twice quotes the sayings of Piṇḍola. His longevity, testified to by the story of the Divyāvadāna, and the tradition that he was immortal, may have been the causes that led to his deification as the Buddha of medicine. He belonged to the clan or *gotra* of Bharadvāja. The originator of the clan is traditionally known to be a master of the science of medicine, and this fact may also have contributed to the identification of Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja as the Buddha of medicine.

Piṇḍola is usually represented with the *Āmalaka* fruit in one hand and a begging bowl in the other, with an *uṣṇīṣa* covering short curly hairs and a sheet of cloth (*urṇa*) on his shoulders.

$\frac{\text{I. A. (V) a.}}{1}$ Image of the Buddha of Medicine or Piṇḍola in *octo-alloy* metal, only 3″ in height. He sits in the meditative pose and has a myrobalan (*Āmalaka*) fruit in his right hand and a begging bowl in the left. The objects held in the hand, however, have been worn away to a great extent and are hardly recognisable. An *Urṇa* or scarf is placed over his left shoulder. The *Uṣṇīṣa* or coronet on the head covers short curly hairs. Images of Piṇḍola are extremely rare.

Found in the ruins of the *Deul* east of the canal at Sonāraṅg, P. S. Taṅgibāḍī, Dt. Dacca.

Presented by Mr. H. E. Stapleton, I. E. S.

I. B. Female Divinities.

(i) Prajnaparamita.

$\frac{\text{I. B. (i)}}{\text{I}}$ Image of a goddess in white sand-stone, $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$, which is tentatively identified as Prajñāpāramitā. The carving was excellent originally, but the bad quality of the stone is responsible for the rather decayed nature of the statuette. The upper part of the slab is broken away and lost and the head of the goddess has disappeared with it. The goddess sits on a lotus with her legs locked in the meditative pose and the soles of her feet are visible. The right hand seems to be in the *Abhaya Mudrā* and the left hand is placed on the left knee in the *Varada* posture. An attendant, most probably a male, stands on the left of the goddess in the *Tribhaṅga* pose.

A four-armed Prajñāpāramitā is invoked as holding out *Abhaya* with a right hand and with the stem of a lotus with a book on it, twining round a left arm; the remaining two hands perform the *Mudrā* of *Dharmachakrapravarttana.* (Foucher. II. 84.) The present image, however, has only

PLATE XIII.

To face p. 42.



(b) Marīchī from Ujjanī. I. B. (iii) a. 2



(a) Pindola. I. A. (v) a. 1

two arms; the right hand is in the *Abhaya* pose but whether a lotus entwines the left arm can hardly be distinguished owing to the decayed nature of the statuette.

From the Raghurāmpur excavations.

I. B. (ii) GODDESSES EMANATING FROM VAIROCHANA.

(a) Marichi.

$\frac{\text{I. B. (ii) a.}}{\text{I}}$ Image of Mārīchī in black stone. 4′ × 2′. Mārīchī is the Buddhist goddess of dawn and is, with her chariot drawn by seven pigs, a curious Buddhist answer to the sun-god of the Brahmanical pantheon, whose chariot is drawn by seven horses. According to one *Sādhanā* published by Dr. Foucher, (Iconographie Bouddhique, Pt. II. p. 92), the following is a description of the goddess. She is fair, with three faces, three eyes and eight hands. Her right face is red and the left one is a hideous pig-face of blue colour. The four right hands hold the Thunder-bolt, the Elephant-goad, the Arrow and the Needle; while Asoka-leaf, Bow, Noose (held with the help of another hand, as if about to be thrown) and *Tarjjanī Mudrā* (a menacing pose of hand with the index finger pointing upwards) are in the four left hands. The Dhyānī Buddha Vairochana sits on her tiara. The goddess lives inside a *Chaitya* and has the right leg bent and the left leg stretched. Her car is drawn by seven pigs. The car is driven by Rāhu, the fabulous devourer of the Sun and the Moon at the time of eclipses. She is surrounded by four goddesses on the four sides. On the east is Vattalī, red, with a boar face and having four hands,—Needle and Elephant-goad in the two right hands and Lasso and Aśoka-leaf in the two left. On the south is Vadālī,—yellow, with four hands,

holding the same articles as Vattalī, but in a different order. On the west is Varālī, white, with four hands as the previous two, and on the north is Varāhamukhī, red, with Thunder-bolt and Arrow in the two right hands and Aśoka leaf and Bow in the two left ones.

The present image agrees in every particular with the above description, with the addition that the Aśoka branch with leaves held in one of the left hands, ends in a beautiful bunch of flowers.

The spire of a *Chaitya* is depicted at the top of the piece, from the two ends of which sprout forth two luxuriant branches of Aśoka.

Fished out of the Padmā river and procured from Paṇḍitsār, P. S. Bhedarganj, Dt. Faridpur.

$\frac{\text{I. B. (ii) a.}}{2}$ Image of Mārīchī in black stone, 2′-6″ × 1′-3″. A crude piece. The attributes of the hands are as in the foregoing one. Vairochana is absent from the tiara. The pigs beneath are crude representations, running upon one another. The attendant goddesses are five in number instead of four, and in place of four arms, each of them has only two arms.

From Ujāni, in the Gopālganj Sub-Division of the Faridpur District. Found in company with the image of the Buddha described above as $\frac{\text{I. A. (iii) a}}{1}$.

Presented by the Rājāhs of Ujāni.

[1. A beautiful image of Mārīchī in black stone, about 20″ high, worshipped as Kālī in the house of Pūrṇa Chandra Māhāto, at Pior, near Baḍkāmtā, Dt. Tippera.

2. An image of Mārīchī found at Āṭpārā, near Beltalī, P. S. Śrīnagar, Dt. Dacca. It was preserved in the house of Babu Madhusūdana Chaudhurī, of Kukuṭiā near Āṭpārā. Now in the Rajsahi Museum ; No. $\frac{\text{A. (d) 2.}}{137}$.

PLATE XIV.

TO FACE P. 44



Mārīchī from Paṇḍitsār. I. B. (ii) a. 1

3. An image of Mārīchī found at Duāllī, P.S. Lauhajaṅg, Dt. Dacca. Sadly mutilated. Now in the Rajsahi Museum ; No. $\frac{A. (d) 3.}{94}$]

I. B. (iii). GODDESSES EMANATING FROM RATNASAMBHAVA.

(a) Vajra Tara.[1]

Vajra Tārā is a variety of Yellow Tārā. Foucher, in the 2nd part of his Buddhist Iconography, Pages 69—71, gives the *Sādhanā* and an illustration of this goddess. The illustration shows what Foucher calls a portable sanctuary, an *octo-alloy* lotus with eight petals which move up and down and thus can close and open. This image is now preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The following interesting account of the find of this image from the pen of the late Mr. P. C. Mukhopādhyāya of the Archaeological Department, appeared in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society for 1894, Vol. II, Part II, Pages ii and iii.

"The lotus was exhumed in the month of Māgha (January-February) of last year in a *kuṅkar* quarry at Chandipore close to a Devīsthāna, an old temple site where the villagers still worship the image of a goddess. Chandipore is close to Pātharghātā, in the Bhagalpore district. The lotus, along with eight other relics, was found in a *Hāṇḍi* (a kind of flat earthen vessel) by the labourers of a contractor of Kahalgāon employed for the purpose of digging *kuṅkar*. The *Pāṇḍās* of Pātharghātā

1. As already noted, (P. 21, *supra*, n. 3), one *Sadhana* makes Yellow Tara an emanation of Amitabha. The *Sadhana* that agrees in the main with the image described below, makes Vajra Tara an emanation of the Four Buddhas, (*Chaturbbuddhamukutini*),—presumably Ratna-Sambhava, Aksobhya, Vairochana and Amitabha, corresponding to the yellow, blue, white and red faces of the goddess.

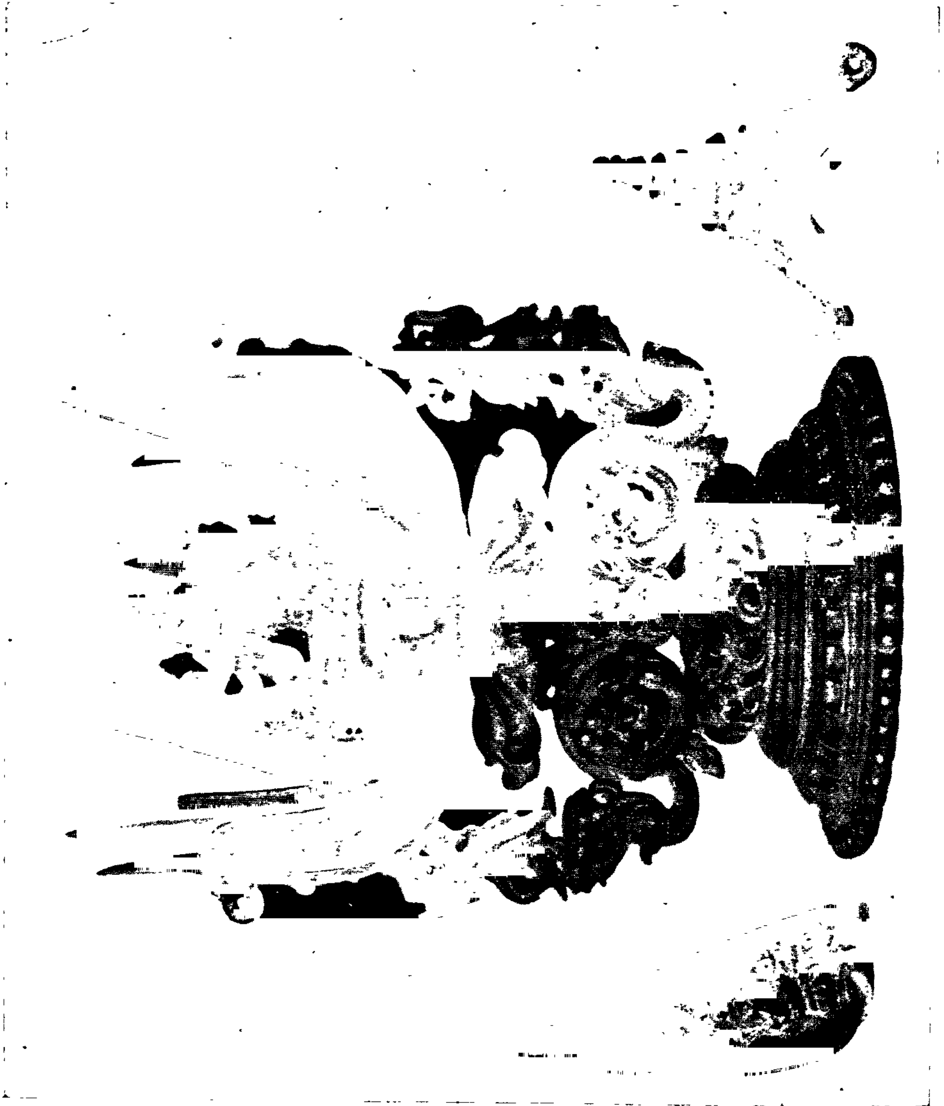
secured these nine relics and placed them in the Baṭeśvar cave, a sacred site and bathing place.

Besides the lotus, the other relics were (1) a twelve-armed and four-faced Bhairava standing on two prostrate figures, in bronze ; (2) a bronze shrine of an image which is no longer existing ; (3) a metal figure of the Buddha in a seated posture of rather silvery appearance ; (4) a bronze Padmapāṇi ; (5) a bronze Māyā Devī with the infant Bodhisattva on her lap. (6) a bronze Tārā Devi, seated ; (7) a Gaṇeśa in bronze ; and (8) a plaster figure of Buddha.

But the most interesting of them is the archaic lotus, about 8 inches in height.........It is composed of a pedestal, flower and a cap to close it at the top. The pedestal is highly ornamented with elaborate mouldings crowned with a flower, of which the petals spread downwards and are flanked by two figures of probably Bhairavas rising up in a bending attitude. Underneath is a legend written in mystic letters within a rectangle, which is sub-divided into fourteen squares in two rows.

Above the pedestal is the lotus proper, consisting of eight petals, each containing the figure of a goddess in relief on its inner side. These eight figures are alternately seated, and standing in a bent attitude. The centre is occupied by a goddess in sitting posture, probably Tārā Devī of the Buddhistic pantheon......She is eight-armed and is otherwise worked very exquisitely in silver on bronze ground, both in details and as a whole composition. The head-dress is fashioned like a *stupa.* The lotus expands and closes hiding and exposing inside figures by a skilful mechanism. When the petals fold together, the top which is of the form of a votive *stupa,* tightens them and gives it the appearance of the bud of a lotus. This relic of priceless value, is evidently of the tenth century A. D., if not earlier; and I secured it with the eight others for the Indian Museum."

PLATE XV. TO FACE P. 47.



Vajra-Tārā from Pātharghāṭā.

The image * is in a perfect state of preservation. The eight petals of the lotus are numbered on the outside consecutively with numerals from 1 to 8, of the form that prevailed in the 10th-11th century A. D. The goddess Vajra Tārā sits on the pod of the lotus with her legs closely locked and with the body bent slightly towards the proper right. The attributes of her hands, however, do not exactly agree with the *Sādhanā* quoted by Foucher (II-70). The concave side of each petal is occupied by a female deity, alternately sitting and standing. The sitting figures are Tārās and the standing figures are Yoginīs. Curious figures incised in outline on the inner surface of the petals, appear on the back of the Tārās, as if they were shadows cast by the Tārās sitting in front. The figure on the back of No. 3, Dīpa Tārā, (Tārā of the Lamp) I could recognise as Amoghasiddhi, and, if Vajra Tārā herself is taken to be an emanation of Ratnasambhava, the remaining three figures in outline may be Vairochana, Akṣobhya and Amitābha.

The following list, numbered according to the numbers incised on the petals, will show the relative position of the different Tārās and Yoginīs.

1. Female figure, sitting cross-legged. Two arms; hands with palms to the front,—holding flowers with stems. Gandha Tārā.

2. Female figure, standing, *Ālīḍha* posture, *Vajra* in the right hand and *Ghantā* in the left. Yoginī Vajraghantā.

* Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., Ph. D., while in charge of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, very kindly supplied the author with an excellent photograph of this remarkable image which is reproduced here. Subsequently, when Dr Foucher was in charge, the author had the opportunity of making a detailed study of the image in his company. As this important image has nowhere yet been fully described, I supplement Mr. Mukherjee's description by a detailed notice.

3. Female figure, sitting cross-legged, with soles of the feet visible. Both hands in *Añjali* pose, with a lamp on the palms. Dīpa Tārā.

4. Female figure, standing, *Ālīḍha* posture,—Noose in the right hand, *Tarjjanī* in the left. Yoginī Vajrapāśī.

5. Female figure, sitting, something like a knotty stick in the right hand and incense-burner in the left. Dhūpa Tārā.

6. Female figure, standing, *Ālīḍha* posture, *Chakra* in the right hand, *Tarjjanī* in the left. Yoginī Vajrasphoṭī.

7. Female figure, sitting, the stem of an *Utpala* in the right hand, the flower itself in the left. Puṣpa Tārā.

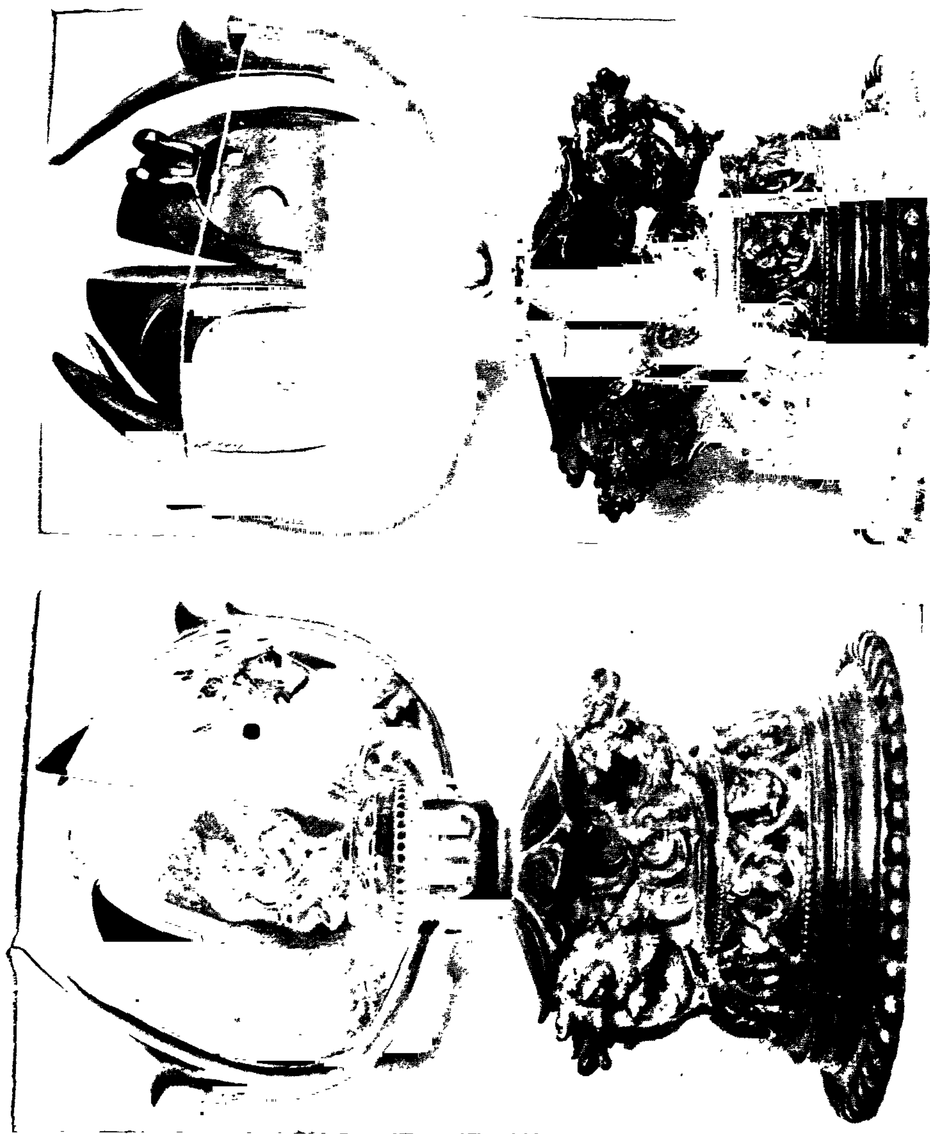
8. Female figure, standing, *Ālīḍha* posture, *Aṅkuśa* in the right hand, *Tarjjanī* in the left. Yoginī Vajrāṅkuśī.

Fortunately, the Dacca Museum has also been able to secure a similar image. It was fished out of a tank in the village of Mājbāḍī, two miles west of the Police Station of Koṭālipāḍā, in the district of Faridpur.

It appears from Foucher's book that this method of representing Vajra Tārā within a full-blown lotus was adopted as a convenient method of representing her in *Maṇḍala*, i. e. within the magic circle. When in *Maṇḍala*, she is to be surrounded by the Mothers who appear to be eight in number. Four of them, as we have seen in the case of the image in the Indian Museum, are *Yoginīs*, called Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajrapāsī, Vajrasphotī and Vajraghantā. These guard the four doors of the *Maṇḍala* on the four sides. The four corners of the *Maṇḍala* are guarded by four Tārās, as seen above, of Flower, Incense, Lamp and Perfume respectively. The device of a full-blown lotus with eight movable petals was conveniently utilised to represent this magic circle. The goddess herself was seated on the pod of the lotus, while the Eight Mothers occupied the eight petals of the lotus round her. The petals drawn up and a capping crown placed on them would close

PLATE XVI.

TO FACE P. [illegible]



Vajra-Tārā from Majvāḍī, Faridpur.

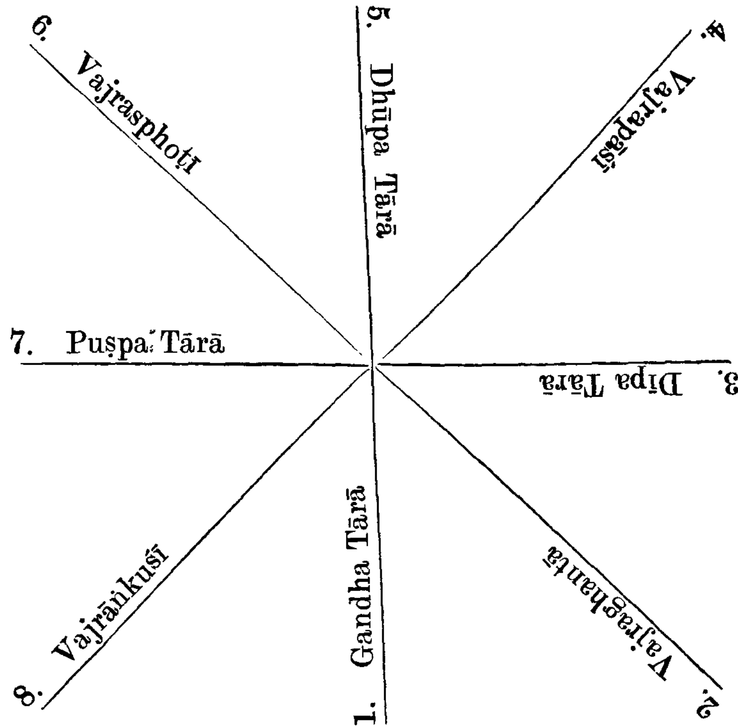
the lotus and range the Mothers round the goddess, thus creating a perfect and mysteriously secret *Maṇḍala* that would inspire awe in the heart of the devotees. The cap removed, the petals slided down and the goddess was revealed in all her glory for the worship of the devotees, having as if just closed her conference with her eight attendants. The fact that lotus is supposed to close in the evening and open with the rising sun was perhaps symbolically utilised to close this miniature sanctuary with the approach of evening and open it with the peep of dawn.

Vajra Tārā is described to have eight arms and four faces. Each face has three eyes. The faces are of yellow, black, white and red colour respectively, turning to right. She glows with all the distinctive signs of a young virgin. Enveloped in a red aureole, she sits with legs closely crossed inside the full-blown lotus, with her eight attendants ranged round her In her right hands are the Thunder-bolt, the Arrow, the Conch-shell and the *Varada-Mudrā* (gesture of charity). Her left hands hold the Blue Lotus, the Bow, the Elephant-goad, the Noose and the *Tarjjanī Mudrā.* As already noted, the image in the Indian Museum appears to have somewhat different attributes in her eight hands.

The image obtained from the Faridpur district was discovered unfortunately in a mutilated condition. The main image is broken away and lost and a pair of feet placed on the pod of the lotus in a very graceful tiptoe attitude are the only remains to show where she sat. Three of the eight petals are lost and of the remaining petals numbering 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8, only petals No. 6 and 8 have the attendant goddesses on their inner sides. The capping crown is also gone.

The position of the attendant goddesses on the eight petals, as ascertained from the image in the Calcutta Museum, should be as arranged below. But there does not appear to

be any hard and fast rule as to which Tārā is to follow which Tārā or which Yoginī is to come after which Yoginī.



By this arrangement, petals No. 6 and 8 are occupied by the Yoginīs Vajrasphoṭī and Vajrāṅkuśī respectively. In the Calcutta Museum image, they are female figures standing in *ālīḍha* posture. In the present image, however, the petals are occupied by two dancing female figures. With the right leg raised and standing on the bent left leg, they are dancing frantically with a curious expression of awe and ecstatic amazement in their faces and rolling eyes. Both of them wear the five-leaved crown as well as a flowing scarf, and both have long garlands coming down to their knees. Both have the skull-cup in their left hands, but No. 6 has a knife or chopper in her right hand pointed upwards, and No. 8 has a



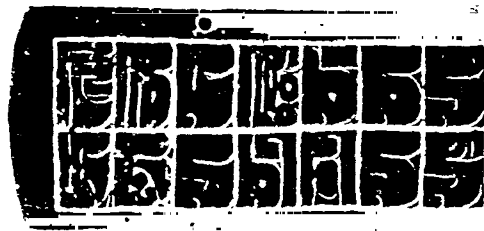
(a) Fig. on petal No. 6. of the Mājvāḍī Vajra-Tārā.



(b) Do. fig. on petal No. 8.



(c) Do. Double Nāga girl supporting petals.



(d) The mystic rectangle below the Vajra-Tārā from Pātharghāṭā.

sounding kettle drum. The first may be taken as Vajrasphotī, but the second hardly answers to any reasonable idea of Vajrāṅkuśī.

The graceful pair of feet that remain on the pod of the lotus show that the main deity was not seated with legs crossed as contemplated in the *Sādhanā* for Vajra Tārā, but with both the legs pendant, as one would sit on a stool. The position of the pair of feet may also indicate that the deity stood tiptoe on the pod of the lotus.

This fact, together with the fact that the figure on the 8th petal does not tally with Vajrāṅkuśī, raises a strong suspicion that the original image might not after all have been an image of Vajra Tārā. Kurukullā, Padma-narttesvara, Dhanadā Tārā and some other deities may also be represented in *Maṇḍala* like Vajra Tārā. Further investigations may identify the Faridpur image as any of these deities or some other god or goddess.

The *Śrīchakrasambhāra Tantra* (Tantric Texts : Avalon : Vol. VII. p. 21-31) describes an image of Chakra-Mahāsukha (Samvara or Heruka ?) inside a lotus with eight petals in *yab-yum.* Four cross petals of the lotus are occupied by the figures of *Dākinīs.* Urns full of Water of Wisdom, surmounted by Skull-bowls holding the Five Nectars, occupy the remaining four petals. Each *Dākinī* has four hands holding Kettle-drum, Dagger, Skull-cup and Staff. These have family resemblance to the two attendant female figures that remain on the Faridpur lotus and may point to a probable identification. The pair of feet of the principal deity that remain on the pod of the lotus in tiptoe attitude, may have been the pair of feet of the *Śakti* standing tiptoe to embrace her lord.

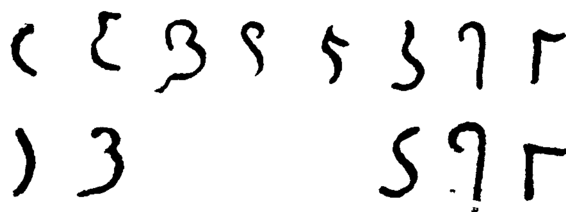
Below the movable eight petals are eight smaller fixed petals. Between each pair of these fixed petals, again, is a still smaller petal. The flower rises from a thick stem and on its two sides, two young double Nāga girls, their bodies

bifurcating from a single up-turned tail,—are represented as gracefully supporting the fixed petals of the lotus.

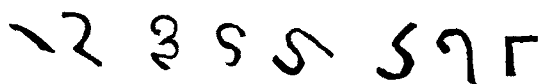
The brim of the bell-shaped base is decorated by a series of connected pellets, 43 in number. Higher up, a circle of foliage in bold relief decorates the base. It twists into 11 circular folds, six of which are occupied by a goose, a monkey, an elephant, a deer, a hare and a lion respectively. The rest of the folds contain lotuses in various stages of blooming.

The whole is a delightfully pleasing work of art and must have been a pretty thing when entire. The attendant goddesses and the double Nāga girls, though barely more than an inch and a half in length, are well-executed in every limb and finished with consummate ability.

Fortunately the image can be dated with some amount of certainty. The movable petals and the bigger of the fixed petals are numbered with numeral figures from 1 to 8. There are slight differences in the shape of the lower and the higher row of figures, the most remarkable being the difference in the shape of 1 and 2. On the movable petal, 1 is a concave stroke which appears to be the correct shape of the figure. But on the fixed petal below, a convex stroke like a correct 1 inverted, represents 1. The figure for 2 on the fixed petal appears to be a similarly inverted figure of the correct figure for 2 incised on the movable petal. The



Figures on the petals of the lotus from Faridpur.
1st row,—the lower fixed petals. 2nd row,—
the upper movable petals.



Figures on the petals of the lotus from Bhagalpur.

Plate XVIII.



Sitātapatrā from Tippera. 1. B (iv) a

remaining three figures of the upper row agree in the main with the corresponding figures of the lower row.

Paleographical considerations show that 9th—11th century A. D. was the period when these figures had the shapes, we find inscribed on the petals.

When the petals of the lotus are drawn up, the top reaches a height of 7 inches from the ground.

I. B. (IV). GODDESSES EMANATING FROM AMITABHA.

(a) Sitatapatra.

$\frac{\text{I. B. (IV) a}}{1}$ A beautiful image of a Buddhist goddess in *octo-alloy* metal, tentatively identified as Sitātapatrā or the Goddess of the White Parasol,—a form of Tārā.

Sitātapatrā is described by Getty (Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 121) as a goddess white in colour, who may have three heads. "She has eight arms and with the two normal hands holds her special symbol, the Parasol, under which she is believed to protect all true believers......... The other hands hold the Wheel, Bow, Arrow, Book and Lasso...............Her expression is sweet."

In the present image the Parasol is conspicuous at the top over the head of the goddess. But parasols are often depicted over the heads of Brahmanical deities as a mark of distinction without any iconographical significance, and similar may be the case with the present image. It may be noted at the same time that a Parasol over the head of a Buddhist deity appears to be very rare.

The goddess sits with one leg pendant, resting over a lotus. The expression on the face of the goddess is undeniably very pleasant, and its charm has survived even the rather decayed

condition of the image. Some of the hands of the goddess have suffered with age and decay and it is impossible to state with precision what she held in them. But the Wheel, the Bow, the Arrow and the Lasso can still be distinguished with certainty. In the four right hands she holds,—

1. The Wheel. 2. The Bow (? lost). 3. The Sword. 4. The *Vara Mudrā*. The four left hands contain,—

1. The Thunder-bolt. 2. The Arrow. 3. (lost). 4. The Lasso.

Two circular **SEALS** are attached to the back of the image, inscribed, in all probability, with the Buddhist creed,—*Ye Dharmmā*, etc. But the letters are too decayed to be decipherable. This feature is met with only in Buddhist images. The absence of the *Vāhana* also marks the present image out as that of a Buddhist deity. In view of the conspicuous parasol over her head, the very sweet expression of the face and the identity of the greater number of weapons, the goddess may, with some plausibility, be identified as Sitātapatrā in the present state of our knowledge of Buddhist Iconography. She appears to have resemblance to no other known goddess of the Buddhist Pantheon. Sitātapatrā is not illustrated by Getty.

Discovered in a village in Tippera and purchased for the Dacca Museum through Babu Anukūla Chandra Rāya, B. A.

I. B. (IV) BHRKUTI TARA.

The Dacca Museum has no sample of Bhṛkutī Tārā in its collections. But the image described below is very probably an image of Bhṛkutī Tārā.

[1. Image of a goddess in greyish black stone, about 4′ 6″ × 2′ 6″. This image has not yet been properly identified. It resembles in many particulars the image described *infra* as Mahāpratisarā { 1. B. (vi) a—[1] }, but

To face page 55.



Bhṛkuṭī from Bhavānīpur

there are some notable differences. The goddess sits on a lotus with legs placed one upon the other. She has three faces, but only the front face has a placid expression. The teeth are prominent in the face to the left, while the right face seems to be laughing horribly with the teeth protruding and the brow contracted by a frown. She has eight arms, some of which unfortunately are broken. The arrangement of the arms, as far as they can be distinguished, appears to be as follows :—

RIGHT.	LEFT.
1. Sword.	1. Thunder-bolt.
2. (Broken).	2. (Broken.)
3. Trident.	3. Lasso.
4. (Broken).	4. Hatchet.[1] (?)

Two roaring lions are represented below the seat of the goddess. A peculiar feature of this image is the representation of a figure of the Brahmanical elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa crawling on all fours, right below the seat of the goddess, between the two roaring lions. This shows that she is to be regarded as a sort of Dharmmapāla—*i.e.* Defender of the Faith. An additional feature is the representation of a quiver full of arrows stuck on the ground, to the right of the lotus seat of the goddess. This is a very important feature. In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January, 1894, p. 86, Mr. Waddell states that reeds should be growing in all the eight directions round Bhṛkutī Tārā. As reed and arrow are denoted by the same word *Śara* in Sanskrit, the presence of a quiver full of arrows stuck on the ground is

[1] Two of the left hands are broken and the third is mutilated. Only the natural hand holding the thunder-bolt is perfect. The part of the Lasso (*Vajrapasa*) ending is a circular knot is preserved, but we cannot be sure as to which of the two broken hands held the Lasso. The mutilated hand holds something like a rod which probably belonged to a hatchet.

significant. This feature, as well as the presence of the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha on the tiara of the goddess and the frown on the right face, make it almost certain that the image is one of Bhṛkutī Tārā, though the appropriate *Sādhanā* is not forthcoming. The image appears to be a pretty old piece of sculpture, probably belonging to the 9th—10th century A. D. Found at Bhavānīpur, in the Munsiganj Sub-Division of the Dacca district and preserved in the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat.*]

I. B. (V) GODDESSES EMANATING FROM AMOGHASIDDHI.

(a) Syama Tara.

$\frac{\text{I. B. (V) a}}{1}$ Image of Śyāmā (green) Tārā in sand-stone, 4′×1′-8″. The goddess is standing in the Tribhaṅga pose with the right hand in the *Varada Mudrā* and holding a half-blown blue lotus with the left hand. Much decayed. Appears to be a very old piece of sculpture.

From Sukhabāspur, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca. Presented by Rai Rameśa Chandra Guha Bahadur.

$\frac{\text{I. B. (V) a}}{2}$ Image of Śyāmā Tārā in black stone, 4′×2′-1″. She sits with the right leg pendant. The right hand is in the *Varada Mudrā*, the left holds a half-blown blue lotus in the *Vitarka Mudrā.* The right leg rests on a lotus springing from the stem of the main lotus throne on which the goddess is seated. Beneath this throne, at the base, is represented Vajrasattva sitting with legs locked, a Vajra in the right hand and a Bell in the left. On the right of the goddess is represented in miniature, the goddess Aśokakāntā (Mārīchī) with an *Aśoka* leaf in her left hand, the right hand being in the *Abhaya Mudrā*,

PLATE XX.



Tārā from Sukhavāshpur.

PLATE XXI.



Tarā from Sompāḍā. $\frac{\text{I B (v) a.}}{2}$

The Aśoka leaf, however, looks like the feather of a pea-cock and the goddess represented may in reality be Mahāmāyūrī and not Aśokakāntā. To the left of the goddess sits a rather corpulent female deity (Ekajatā) with a knife in the right hand and a skull-cup in the left. Miniature figures of eight Tārās are given one above the other in two rows of four and four on the right and the left sides of the goddess. They all hold lotuses with the left hands; the right hands in the *Abhaya Mudrā* are placed between the breasts. All these goddesses have companions, altogether ten in number; of them only the 3rd on the right side is a female; the rest are all males. The first two goddesses on the right side have respectively a lion and an elephant as *Vāhana.* A *Krittimukha* is represented at the top. There is a short inscription in the script of the 12th century A. D. at the base :—

Kāyastha Śrī Saṅgheṣa-gu (*pta*)......

(The scribe Ṣaṅgheśa-gupta.)

Found at Sompārā, a hamlet in the village of Vajrayoginī, P. S. Munshiganj, Dt. Dacca: presented by Babu Āśutoṣa Guha, B. E. and others of the Guha family of Sompārā.

$\frac{\text{I. B. (V) a}}{3}$ Image of Tārā in black stone,—it is difficult to distinguish whether of *White* or of *Green* Tārā. The goddess sits with one leg pendant, placed on a lotus. The left hand holds a half-blown blue lotus (*nīlotpala*) but not in the *Vitarka Mudrā.* The arm is bent; the hand hangs down, the back of the hand to the front. The right hand is in the *Varada* pose. A goddess is represented in miniature as sitting on the same seat as Tārā, to her left. This attendant goddess is corpulent; her right hand is hidden, the left rests on the seat. Two Dhyānī Buddhas are depicted on the two sides of the head of the goddess; on the right,

Ratna-sambhava and on the left Akṣobhya. There is no Dhyānī Buddha directly over the head of the goddess and so it does not appear which of the two Buddhas on the two sides of her head is to be regarded as her parental Buddha. The sculpture seems to be older than the sculptures ordinarily met with. The style in general and the mode of decorations in the halo and in the top part generally, mark out images of this style as older than images bearing either *Kṛttimukha* or Umbrella at the top.

The Buddhist creed "*Ye Dharmmā,*" etc.—is inscribed on the base in, what appears to be, the script of the 9th—10th century A. D.

Found at Khailkair, P. O. Gāchhā ; P. S. Jaydevpur, Dt. Dacca. Presented by the Manager, Court of Wards' Estate, Bhāoyāl.

[1. Image of Tārā in black stone, standing, about 3′-6″ in height, like $\frac{\text{I. B. (V) a}}{1}$ described above. Has five miniature figures of the five Dhyānī Buddhas round the head. Preserved at Svāmībāg, Dayāganj, in the town of Dacca and procured from some village in Vikramapura, Dt. Dacca].

I. B. (V)B. PARNASAVARI.

Images of Parṇaśavarī are extremely rare, and as far as known, have not yet been illustrated. The two images described below are worshipped in two villages, within four miles of each other, in the Munsiganj Sub-Division of the Dacca district.

"Parṇaśavarī is a follower of Tārā and is specially interesting on account of the apron of leaves that she wears, which, according to Mr. Grunwedel, shows that she was worshipped by the aboriginal tribes of India. One of her names is *Sarva-Śavarāṇām Bhagavatī* or goddess of all the



(a) Tarā from Khailkair. I. B. (V) a.



(b) Tarā at Svamībāg. I. B. (V) a [1]

Śavaras (a mountaineer, a savage) and there is still a tribe in Eastern India known by that name."

"She is represented turning to the left, but kneeling on her right knee. She is yellow and has three heads,—white, yellow and red, and although her expression is irritated, she is smiling. In her six hands, she holds a thunder-bolt, hatchet, arrow, bow, lasso and a branch of flowers." (Getty, P. 119).

It would appear from the *Sādhanā* quoted below that she was a popular goddess invoked against epidemic and other diseases.

পর্ণশবরীং হরিতাং ত্রিমুখাং ত্রিনেত্রাং ষড়্ভুজাং কৃষ্ণশুক্লদক্ষিণবামাননাং বজ্রপরশুশরদক্ষিণকরত্রয়াং কার্ম্মুকপত্রচ্ছটাসপাশতর্জ্জনীবামকরত্রয়াং সক্রোধ-হসিতাননাং নবযৌবনবতীং সপত্রমালাব্যাঘ্রচর্ম্মনিবসনামীষল্লম্বোদরীং ঊর্দ্ধসংযত-কেশীং অধো অশেষরোগমারীপদাক্রান্তাং অমোঘসিদ্ধিমুকুটীং আত্মানং ঝটিতি নিষ্পাদ্য মন্ত্রং জপেৎ ওঁ পিশাচি পর্ণশবরি সর্ব্বমারিপ্রশমনি হুঁ ফট্ স্বাহা ।

A. S. B. Mss. Fol. 161 B—162 A.

Nepal Mss. Vol. II. Fol. 4B—5A.

[The devotee should quickly conceive himself as Parṇa-śavarī who is green, with three faces, (each) having three eyes, and has six arms. Her right and left faces are black and white respectively. The three right hands hold the Vajra, the Hatchet and the Arrow. The three left hands carry the Bow, a sprig of leaves, and the Lasso held in the *Tarjjanī* Mudrā. Her faces have an irritated smile. She is in the first bloom of youth. She wears a tiger's skin with a girdle of leaves. Slightly big-bellied, with the hairs streaming up yet restrained, with Amoghasiddhi on her tiara, she treads down under her feet countless diseases and epidemics. He (the devotee) should then recite the following *Mantra* :—Oṁ Parṇaśavarī, the witch, the queller of all epidemics, *Huṁ Phaṭ Svāhā.*]

The two images described below are in very good agreement with the *Sādhanā* translated above.

[1. Image of Parṇaśavarī in black stone in an excellent state of preservation, about 3′-6″ high. The head of the goddess has a bend to the left, but her right leg is bent at her knee. She has three faces and the artist has acquitted himself admirably well in depicting the irritated but smiling expression of the faces. The up-streaming but restrained hairs are equally well-done. The goddess has six hands; in the three right hands, she holds Thunder-bolt, Arrow and Hatchet, and in two of the three left hands she holds a small Branch with leaves and a Bow; but the third hand has only the Tarjjanī Mudrā and no Lasso. The girdle of leaves restraining the dress of tiger skin is prominently depicted.

The following additional features may be noticed. The goddess is slightly big-bellied, as required by the *Sādhanā*; she is treading upon the heads of two prostrate male figures placed upon a lotus seat with heads in the opposite directions and having circular scales or small-pox marks all over their bodies. These undoubtedly personify the diseases and epidemics which the goddess is required to trample down under her feet.

The god Gaṇeśa is represented prostrate at the bottom with a shield and a sword in hand, evidently vanquished after a fight with the goddess. (Cf. the image of Trailokya-vijaya, Foucher, II. p. 58—59, where the god is represented as treading on the prostrate couple Hara and his wife Gaurī, pressing down the head of Hara with the left foot and the breasts of Gaurī with the right. Compare also Bhṛkuṭī Tārā described above with a crawling Gaṇeśa beneath her seat.) The Brahmanical god Hayagrīva is depicted to the right of the goddess in a threatening attitude while Śītalā, the Brahmanical goddess of epidemics, with a broom stick in the right hand and the winnowing basket (*kulya*) in the left, is departing to the left on the back of her vehicle,

PLATE XXIII.



(a) Parṇaśavarī from Nayanandu.
I. B. (x) b. 1



(b) Parṇaśavarī at Vajrayoginī.
I. B. (x) b 2

the donkey. The prostrate figure of Gaṇeśa at the bottom, the flight of Śītalā and the threatening attitude of Hayagrīva appear to indicate the suppression of the worship of these Brahmanical deities of diseases by the introduction of that of Parṇaśavarī. The five Dhyānī Buddhas are represented at the top with Amoghasiddhi in the middle.

The goddess is worshipped as *Jīyas Ṭhākurāṇī* at the village of Naynanda, P. S. Taṅgibāḍī, Dt. Dacca.

2. Image of Parṇaśavarī in black stone, about 4′ in height, discovered somewhere near the village of Vajrayoginī, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca and fixed by Rai Rameśa Chandra Guha Bahadur of the village to the front wall of the temple of Kālī erected by him in the market place of the village. It closely resembles the image described above.]

I. B. (VI). THE PANCHARAKSAS.

(a). Mahapratisara.

[1. Image of an eight armed goddess in black stone, $2\frac{1}{2}' \times 2'$. Top broken away and lost.

The image has been identified as that of Mahāpratisarā, one of the five protecting goddesses (Pañcharakṣā). She has three faces, all of them of *pleasant* expression. The neck has a slight bend to the left. She carries in her four right hands,— 1. Sword. 2. Arrow. 3. Trident. 4. Discus. In the four left hands, she carries,—1. Thunder-bolt. 2. Bow. 3. Lasso with a ring tied to the end, held in the *Tarjjanī Mudrā*, between the breasts. 4. Hatchet. The legs are not locked, the right one being placed over the left. The sole of her left foot is not visible.

The following *Sādhanā* from the *Sādhanamālā* agrees closely with the image described above.

মহাপ্রতিসরা গৌরবর্ণা দ্বিরষ্টবর্ষাকৃতিঃ চৈত্যালঙ্কৃতমূর্দ্ধা চন্দ্রাসনস্থা সূর্য্যমণ্ডলালীঢ়া বজ্রপর্য্যঙ্কিনী ত্রিনেত্রা অষ্টভুজা চতুর্ম্মুখা চলৎকুণ্ডলশোভিতা হারনূপুরভূষিতা কনককেয়ূরমণ্ডিতমেখলা সর্ব্বালঙ্কারধারিণী। তস্যা ভগবত্যাঃ প্রথমমুখং গৌরং দক্ষিণং কৃষ্ণং পৃষ্ঠে পীতং বামে রক্তং। দক্ষিণপ্রথমে ভুজে চক্রং দ্বিতীয়ে বজ্রং তৃতীয়ে শরঃ চতুর্থে খড়গঃ। বামপ্রথমভুজে বজ্রপাশঃ দ্বিতীয়ে ত্রিশূলং তৃতীয়ে ধনুঃ চতুর্থে পরশু। বোধিবৃক্ষোপশোভিতা......

A. S. B. Mss. Folia 217 B—218 A.

(Mahāpratisarā is of fair complexion and has the appearance of a girl of sixteen. Her tiara is decorated by a *Chaitya.* With the moon as her seat, she scrapes the region of the sun. She sits in the Adamantine pose. She has three eyes, eight arms and four faces. She is bedecked with oscillating earrings, necklaces, anklets, golden armlets girdles and all the other ornaments. The natural face of the goddess is white, the right one black, the left one red and the face to the back is yellow. The first right hand holds the Discus ; the second, Vajra ; the third, Arrow ; the fourth, Sword. The first left hand holds the Lasso; the second, Trident; the third, Bow ; and the fourth has the Hatchet. The Bodhi Tree rises above her head.)

The fourth face at the back is of course not shown in the image described above ; but this omission of the face at the back of four-faced deities is not unusual. The loss of the upper part of the stone is regrettable as the presence of the Bodhi tree to be depicted there and of the Chaitya, which does not appear on the tiara of the goddess and which was probably depicted right above her head, would have put the identification beyond doubt.

Found somewhere in Vikramapura in the Munsiganj Sub-Division of the Dacca District. Now preserved at Jībana Babu's garden, Dalbazar, Dacca Town.]

PLATE XXIV.



Mahāpratisarā. I. B. (vi) a.

I. B. (VII.) HARITI.

The image identified as that of Hārītī in the present section is an image in black stone, 1′-7″ × 10″. The goddess is seated on a lotus seat with her legs locked. She has four arms. The upper right hand holds a fish and the upper left hand has a drinking bowl. With the two normal hands she holds a baby in her lap.

This is certainly a novel method of representing Hārītī, as her representations hitherto met with are all two-armed. The goddess is either seated or standing, holding a baby in her two arms, while a number of children are represented as playing around her. But though the present image has two extra arms, we know of no other Buddhist deity holding a child except Hārītī and the absence of a *Vāhana* appears to mark out the present representation as that of a deity belonging to the Buddhist pantheon. The legend of Hārītī seems also to bear out the identification.

The original of the legend of Hārītī is perhaps to be traced to *Mahāvastu*[1]. The story there is rather a simple one, meant to illustrate the triumph of Buddha in sanctity and greatness over the six rival heretical teachers. Below is given a free translation of the beginning of the story.

"In the sub-Himalayan regions lived a Yakṣiṇī, Kuṇḍalā by name. Each year she gave birth to 100 children and thus obtained 500 children. When their number reached 1000, she died.[2]

"These thieves of vitality betook themselves to Vaiśālī and began to sap the vitality of its inhabitants. Circular

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[1]. *Mahavastu*: Ed. Senart. Vol. I. P. 253. *Chhatravastu Avadana.*

[2] The text is not clear. It reads :—দানি সমং সমং চ পুত্রশতা পংচ প্রজায়তি। পুত্র সহস্রং প্রজাতা সা কালং করোতি। Some variant readings are also cited by the editor.

leprosy (pox ?) both of humid and fetid kind made its appearance in epidemic form. In whichever family humid circular leprosy appeared, none was saved, all were killed. The leprosy of the fetid kind decimated whole provinces. The disease appeared in Vaiśālī and people began to die. They took to propitiating gods and goddesses. This thought then occurred to them: Whose presence in Vaiśālī is calculated to allay this epidemic? They sent for Kāśyapa Puraṇa. 'Oh Sir, be pleased to come. The citizens of Vaiśālī are infected with a supernatural epidemic. If you come, it will subside.' Kāśyapa Puraṇa arrived at Vaiśālī, but the supernatural epidemic did not subside!"

In this way Maskari Gośālīputra, Kakud Kātyāyana, Ajita Keśakamvalī, Sañjayī Varattiputra, Nirgrantha Jñatiputra[1] were all called one after another. None could give relief to the epidemic-stricken people of Vaiśālī.

"After some time, Sālohitā, a citizeness of Vaiśālī, was inspired by the gods. One of these gods thus addressed the people of Vaiśālī:—'The saints whom you have thus far called, are heretics and preachers of heresy. They have no power to allay the supernatural epidemic of Vaiśālī. Whereas, wherever resides the Lord Buddha,—who has arrived in this world in age after age, who is a saint thoroughly enlightened, of boundless knowledge and experience, of great divine powers, immensely majestic, all-knowing and all-seeing,—within the bounds of whichever meadow or village he resides, all the calamities of nature (*īti*) and supernatural noises, disturbances and pestilences cease. Bring him and this supernatural disease of the people of Vaiśālī will disappear."

1. Mahavira, the Jaina teacher. He is called *Jnatiputra*, because he came of a stock of Vaisali.



Hārītī. (?) 1. B. (vii).

The tribal Assembly (*Gaṇa)* of the Lichchhavis then sent Tomara, a chief (*mahattara*), to bring the Lord Buddha who was then residing at Rājagṛha as the guest of King Bimbisāra. Tomara went to Rājagṛha and communicated the supplication of the Assembly of Vaiśālī to the Buddha. The Lord said that as he was the guest of Bimbisāra, application should be made to him. On Tomara's approaching Bimbisāra, the latter stipulated that he would request the Lord to go, if the people of Vaiśālī would receive him in greater splendour than the splendour with which Bimbisāra himself would escort the Lord to the banks of the Ganges. Tomara sent a messenger to Vaiśālī communicating the terms of Bimbisāra, and the Assembly consenting, the Lord Buddha went to Vaiśālī and all supernatural diseases disappeared from the place, as soon as the Lord set foot within its bounds.

The next step in the development of the legend of Hārītī can be traced in the Vinayapiṭakam of the *Sarvvāsti-vāda* School, which is preserved only in translation in China, the original having disappeared from India, the home-land of Buddhism. Here the scene is transferred from Vaiśālī to Rājagṛha and the name of the Yakṣiṇī is given as *Huanhsi* which means 'joy' and perhaps stands for a Sanskritic name like Nandā or Nandinī. "She was supposed to be a guardian deity to the people of Magadha. But as the result of a spiteful wish in a previous life, she took to stealing and eating the children of Rājagaha. When the people found that their goddess was secretly robbing them of their offspring to feed herself and her 500 sons, they changed her name to Hārītī, or thief. On the petition of the victims, the Buddha undertook to put an end to the Yakṣiṇī's cannibal mode of life. In order to convert her, he hid her youngest and favourite son, in one account called Piṅgala, in his alms-bowl, and gave

him up to the mother on her promise to renounce cannibalism and become a lay member of his communion. Then, to provide for the subsistence of the mother and her numerous offspring, the Buddha ordained that in all monasteries food should be set out for them every morning. In return for this service, the Yakṣiṇī and her sons were to become and continue guardians of the Buddhist Sacred buildings."[1]

The following dovelopments in the legend are noticeable.

(i) The Yakṣiṇī has been made a patron goddess of Magadha and the epidemic has been personified in her.

(ii) The subsidencc of an epidemic through the saintly presence of the Buddha has been made into the subjugation of the Yakṣiṇī by Buddha.

(iii) The name Hārītī (from the root meaing, 'one who robs') by which she is known in all subsequent literature, has appeared.

(iv) The Yakṣiṇī and her sons appear as guardians of sacred buildings.

The story appears to have been further developed in the *Samyukta-ratna-sūtra* of the Chinese Sūtra-Piṭakam of the Hīnayāna School.[2] The youngest child is called Piṅgala in one place and Pilengka in another. Hārītī has now turned a protectress and giver of children. (Watters. Vol. I. P. 216. Fn. 3.) The scene of her conversion is put by Yuan Chwang about 20 miles north of Taxila. In the next historical notice of the goddess—viz : in I-tsing's—'A record of the Buddhist Religion in India' (Takakusu : P. 37) she is not only the giver of children but of wealth. The scene of the story lies in Rājagṛha. I-tsing says that the image of Hārītī, holding a babe

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[1] On Yuan Chwang. Watters. Vol. I. P. 216.

[2] My query to Prof. Takakusu regarding Hariti literature was kindly answered by his pupil Prof. M. Nagai, Lecturer in Pali and Sanskrit in the Tokyo Imperial University.

in her arms and with some more playing about her was to be found in the porch or in a corner of the dining hall of all Indian monasteries.

In Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā, the story is given with much poetic embellishment. (J. B. T. S. Part I. 1897. p. 26—29. Trans. by S. C. Vidyābhuṣaṇa). Here the name of the child removed is Priyaṅkara which was probably transliterated in Chinese as Pilengka. The citizens of Rājagṛha prefer their complaint to King Bimbisāra in the first instance who moves the Lord Buddha.

That the cannibal nature of the goddess was not forgotten is evident from the following observations of Getty:

"She was also sometimes represented holding a pomegranate, for Gautama Buddha is believed to have cured her of cannibalism by giving her a diet of pomegranate, the red fruit being supposed to resemble human flesh." [1]

The present image with two extra hands holding a fish and a skull-cup appear to be a Mahāyāna redaction of the two-armed goddess, reminiscent of the cannibal nature of the goddess.

Hārītī as a Yakṣiṇī and giver of wealth is sometimes made a spouse of the Yakṣa king, Kuvera, the lord of riches.

The present image was found in the village of Pāikpāḍā, P. S. Taṅgibāḍī, Dt. Dacca, not far from the find-spot of the image of Buddha, {1. A. (iii) a [2]}, and Jambhala, {1. A. (iv) a [1]}, described above.

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[1] No authority for this statement is quoted. Getty further says that Hariti devoured all her *own* children except the last one *Pindola*, whom the Buddha *saved* by hiding him in his begging bowl. I have nowhere come across this version of the story and the name Pindola also appears to be new. The only two variants of the name of the child hitherto met with, appear to be Pingala and Priyankara.

2. MISCELLANEOUS BUDDHIST ANTIQUITIES.

1. A terra-cotta Buddhist Stupa from the excavation at Sābhār. 10″×5″.

2. A clay seal with the Buddhist creed written on it in the 11th century script. From Sābhār.

3. A terra-cotta seal with the representation of a doubled up female figure performing an acrobatic feat. From Sonāraṅg, Dt. Dacca. Presented by Babu Jogendra Nātha Gupta.

4. A number of bricks of various shapes and sizes from the excavation at Sābhār.

5. Portion of a broken image of burnt clay. The head, the upper half of the body and portion of the left arm remain. Garland and sacred thread run across the breast. The cloth is fixed below the navel, as in all ancient images. Size—6″×3½″. From Sābhār.

6. Portion of a terra-cotta male figure. The head, the breast and the right arm remain. 9″×7″.

[1. A brass *Chaitya* discovered at Āsrafpur, P.S. Rāipurā, Dt. Dacca, along with the two copper-plate grants of Devakhaḍga. Proc. A. S. B. 1890. P. 242. 1891. P. 119.]

ICONOGRAPHY OF BUDDHIST AND BRAHMANICAL SCULPTURES IN THE DACCA MUSEUM.

PART II.

BRAHMANICAL SCULPTURES.

Introduction.

The problems of creation have been engaging the attention of man,—its highest expression,—from remote antiquities. In every country, 'those who are awake amidst the great mass of sleepers,' have always wondered why and how we happen to be here. This quest led to the foundation of Philosophy. Thinkers dived deeper and deeper in the ocean of thought, moving on from link to link, till they perceived, they had reached the Great Origin from which all things proceeded.

The earliest and the finest expression of this perception in India is the Song of Creation of the Ṛg-Veda,—X. 129.

নাসদাসীন্নো সদাসীত্তদানীং
নাসীদ্রজো নো ব্যোমাপরো যত্ ।
কিমাবরীবঃ কুহ কস্য শর্ম—
ন্নংভঃ কিমাসীদ্গহনং গভীরং ॥ ১ ॥

Non-being then existed not, nor being.
There was no air or space that is beyond it.
What motion was there ? Where to ?
By whom directed ?
Was water there, inscrutable and deep?

ন মৃত্যুরাসীদমৃতং ন তর্হি
ন রাত্র্যা অহ্ন আসীৎপ্রকেতঃ ।
আনীদবাতং স্বধয়া তদেকং
তস্মাদ্ধান্যন্ন পরঃ কিং চনাস ॥ ২ ॥

Death then existed not, nor Immortality.
Of neither Night nor Day was any vestige.
The One breathed calm and windless by self-impulse
There was not any other thing beyond It.*

*Translations of these two *rks* are taken with slight alteration from Prof. Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, P. 136

The Vedic seer goes on to say how darkness brooded enveloped in darkness and how, when nothing was defined and tangible, impulsive heat of Meditation (তপস্) engendered that *One.* Desire then arose within It, and thus the first link of creation was forged and the void between the existent and non-existent bridged.

In an earlier verse in the Ṛgveda (X. 121) this One is spoken of as Prajāpati. "He is celebrated as the creator of heaven and earth, of the waters and of all that lives; who was born as the one lord of all that breathes and moves, the one god above the gods; whose ordinances all beings and the gods follow; who established heaven and earth; who traverses space in the atmosphere; who embraces with his arms the whole world and all creatures. Here Prajāpati is clearly the name of the supreme god. Though only mentioned once in the Ṛgveda in this sense, he is commonly in the Atharva Veda and Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, and regularly in the Brāhmaṇas, recognised as the chief god. He is the father of the gods, having existed alone in the beginning. He created the Asuras as well. He is also described as the first sacrificer. In the Sūtras, Prajāpati is identified with Brahmā. In the place of the chief god of the later Vedic theology, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads put the impersonal Brahma, the universal soul or the Absolute."*

The philosophical aspect (*Jñānakāṇḍa*) of the Primordial One was thus developed through the Upaniṣads and culminated in the speculations of the various systems of Brahmanical philosophy. The more popular aspect (*Karmma-kāṇḍa*) was developed through the huge mass of Vaidic, Brahmanic and Pauranic literature and gave rise to a complicated Pantheon supported by a wild maze of legends. It is difficult to cut a way through this bewildering

* Prof. Macdonell's—Vedic Mythology P. 118—119.

and sometimes contradictory mythology. The following, however, is an attempt at sketching an intelligible outline.

The tendency to worship is ingrained in the nature of man. A part of his nature is satisfied only when it can exercise itself in adoration and admiration of something which appeals to it powerfully and which, he believes, is higher than himself. Worship thus found expression with the Indian Aryans in the adoration of the striking forces of nature, such as Light, Fire, Heat, Moisture, Electricity, Life, Motion, etc. as manifested in the sun, the fire, the clouds, the storm, the rain and the various other aspects of creation. These were personified into gods and goddesses. The number of these personifications was sometimes given as three, viz : Fire (Agni) on earth, Wind (Indra) in air and Sun (Sūryya) in heaven. But the number is more often 33. Three divisions of these personifications are recognised from the earliest times, viz :—Terrestrial, atmospheric and celestial, conceived of as forming the sphere of Agni, Indra and Sūryya respectively,—the three original deities. Eleven deities are thus assigned to each of these spheres. But in actual enumeration, this definite number of 11 is always exceeded and some deities are enumerated as common to all the three and some to two groups.

The following are the lists of the principal deities of the three groups according to Bṛhaddevatā. (Harvard Oriental Series. Ed. Macdonell. Chapters I, II).

TERRESTRIAL DEITIES.

(Agni's sphere)

1. Agni (Fire).
2. Draviṇoda.
3. Tanūnapāt.
4. Narāśaṁsa.
5. Iḍā.
6. Nakta (Night).
7. Uṣā (Dawn).
8. Tvaṣṭṛ (The divine artificer).
9. Vanaspati (Forest).
10. The Svāhākṛtis.
11. Pṛthivī. (Earth).

Besides these, a host of articles in every-day use in peace and war, the rivers Vipāśā and Śatadru (Beas and Sutlej), some animals and the metres used in composition are deified. The list is finished with the following significant passage :—

দেবতাবাহনং চৈব বহনং হবিষাং তথা ॥
কর্ম্ম দৃষ্টে চ যৎকিংচিদ্ বিষয়ে পরিবর্ত্ততে।
ইত্যুক্তোঽয়ং গণঃ সর্ব্বঃ পৃথিব্যগ্ন্যাশ্রয়ো মহান্ ॥
Bṛhaddevatā. I. 119-120.

"The bringing of the gods, (down to earth) as well as the conveyance of oblations to them is his (terrestrial Agni's) activity and whatever moves within the ken of vision (is connected with that activity). Thus the whole of this great group contained in the Agni of Earth has been stated."

It is clear from the above that the various manifestations of terrestrial energy were deified as terrestrial gods,—as so many forms of the earthly fire, Agni.

ATMOSPHERIC DEITIES.

(Indra's sphere).

1. Indra.
2. Parjjanya.
3. Rudra.
4. Vāyu.
5. Mitra.
6. Varuṇa.
7. Yama.
8. Aditi.
9. Savitṛ.
10. Dhātṛ.
11. Indu.

Indra's functions are enumerated as three-fold :— (1) Taking up of moisture (2) Killing of Vṛtra (the demon hindering the onset of rain). (3) The complete accomplishment of every kind of mighty deed—(as manifested in the fury of storms and the rumbling of thunder).

CELESTIAL DEITIES.

(Suryya's sphere).

1. Sūryya (the sun).	6. Viṣṇu.
2. The Aśvins.	7. Aja Ekapāda.
3. Bhaga.	8. Samudra (space).
4. Pūṣan.	9. The Keśins.
5. Vṛṣākapi.	10. Vasu.

11. Samvatsara (the year).

The function of Sūryya is to hold up the moisture. Blinding brilliance is his chief characteristic.

In Brahmanic literature these three groups were remodelled and renamed. The celestial deities were called Ādityas and their number was fixed at 12†. The atmospheric deities were called Rudras, their number being eleven. The terrestrial deities were called Vasus; they were eight in number.* These made 31. The two remaining places to make up the earlier traditional number 33, were sometimes filled by Dyaus and Pṛthivī, sometimes by Vaṣaṭkāra and Prajāpati and sometimes by the Aśvins.

These three groups, viz:—the Ādityas, the Vasus and the Rudras lead us to the Pauranic phase of evolution of the Brahmanical Pantheon. The story is told how Brahmā Prajāpati when in a mood to create, had six (the number varies) sons taking birth from his mind. These were Marīchi, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Aṅgiras. Brahmā had also some sons springing from the different limbs of his body, of whom we are concerned only with Dakṣa and Dharmma, the former of whom begot 50 daughters.‡

† For a discussion of the names and numbers of the Adityas, see *infra*, the section on sun-god.

* The names of these three groups already appear in company in the Rg-Veda, II—31, 1. X—66, 12. But the numbers forming each group are not stated.

‡ Here again, the number varies. Daksa's daughters are sometimes 13, sometimes 50 and sometimes 60 in number.

Marīchi had a son, Kaśyapa by name. He married 13 of the daughters of Dakṣa and became the progenitor of the Ādityas, Daityas, Dānavas, and all sorts of birds and animals, fabulous or otherwise. Atri's son Soma (moon) married 27 of the daughters of Dakṣa and the remaining ten were married to their uncle Dharmma. The Vasus and the Rudras were the offspring of Dharmma. Thus the Ādityas, the Rudras and the Vasus were sired.

But these Vaidic deities were already losing their importance in the crowd ushered in by the Purāṇas. Of the twelve Ādityas, Viṣṇu gradually came into prominence. The Rudras compounded themselves into a single figure of impetuous qualifications under the name of Śiva. The Vasus fast receded to the back ground and the time-worn Brahmā-Prajāpati maintained himself in the front rank with difficulty. Thus emerged the Pauranic Triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva,—respectively the Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer, in suppression of the Vaidic Triad Agni, Indra (Vāyu) and Sūryya. By the time that sculpture stepped in to give these conceptions lithic form, Brahmā had almost forfeited his claim to worship through the growth of an immoral charge against him. (Vide *infra*, the section on Sarasvatī). Viṣṇu and Śiva were practically the masters of the field. Their only powerful competitor was the old Sun-god, a kin of Visnu. But since this historic phase began, the Sun-god also has been ousted from the field. His worship is no longer an active cult. Viṣṇu and Śiva in their various forms, together with those of their wives and children, now share among themselves the worship of the Brahmanical population of India.

The worship of Śakti, *i. e.* the female energy of Nature identified with the spouse of Śiva, received a strong impetus from the authors of a vast body of Pauranic and Tantric literature. The descent of this form of worship from the Vaidic sources will be discussed *infra* in a special section.

Iconography of the Brahmanical Sculptures. in the DACCA MUSEUM.

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3. BRAHMANICAL SCULPTURES.

(A) GODS.

(i) VAISNAVA IMAGES.

a. Images of Visnu.

Images of Viṣṇu are by far the most numerous of images that are found all over Bengal. This shows how popular the god was during the Pre-Muhammadan days. Next in order of popularity comes Sūryya or the Sun-god, whose images are also numerous. Two powerful Brahmanical families of kings, namely, the Varmmans and the Senas held full sway, the former over the eastern districts and the latter over the whole of Bengal. The Varmmans were all worshippers of Viṣṇu. Most of the Sena kings called themselves great devotees of the Sun-god (*Parama-saura*) and Śiva (*Parama-śaiva*) but Lakṣmaṇa Sena was particularly a worshipper of Viṣṇu. It was in his court that Jayadeva sang his immortal lyrics on the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā,—incarnations of Viṣṇu and his spouse Lakṣmī.

The images of Viṣṇu, ordinarily met with in Bengal, are mostly carved in a kind of hard black stone and they all appear to belong to the same period, viz :—10th-12th century A. D. Images of an earlier age are rare. Viṣṇu ordinarily has four hands in which he holds the Conch-shell, symbolical of eternal Space ; the Wheel, symbolical of eternal Time ; the Mace, symbolical of enternal Law and the unfailing punishment, consequent on its breach ; the Lotus, symbolising the ever-renewing Creation and its beauty and freshness.*

He is accompanied by his two wives, Sarasvatī, the goddess of culture who stands to his left, and Lakṣmī, the goddess of beauty and wealth who stands to his right. The half-bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu is represented kneeling beneath his lotus seat. Miniature representations of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, viz :—Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf, Rāma (the ideal ruler), Paraśurāma (the ideal warrior), Balarāma (the ideal plough-man), Buddha and Kalkī are sometimes depicted on the two sides of the main figure. It is noteworthy that the incarnations are arranged in the order of the modern theories of evolution. First comes the Fish. Then, the amphibious Tortoise. Next, the wild Boar. The half-beast, half-man, Man-lion follows the Boar. The Dwarf man is next manifested,

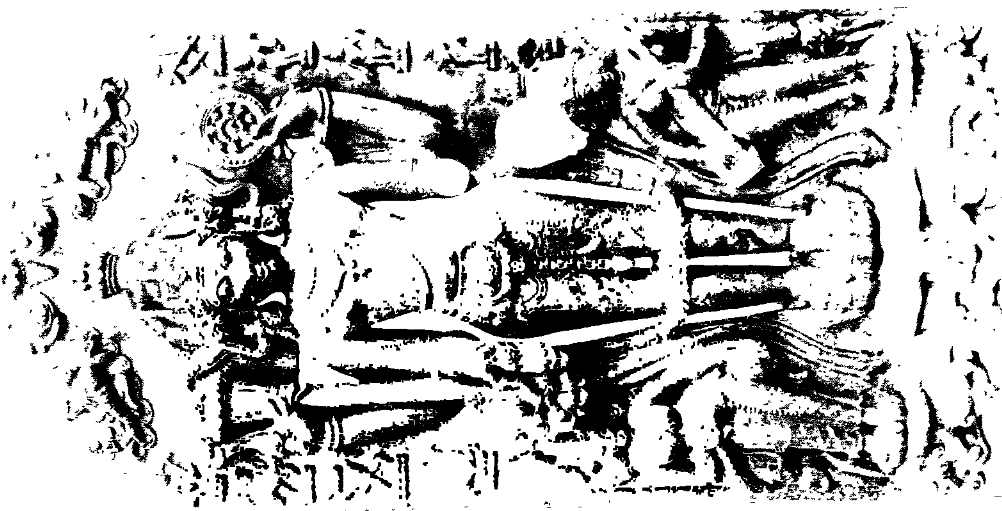
* The only Sastric explanation of the attributes of Vishnu that I have been able to find is that in the Varahapuranam, Chapter 31, P. 105. The image of Visnu described there is somewhat different from the images ordinarily met with in Bengal. It has the Conch, the Discus, the Sword and the Mace in his four hands. Sword is explained as the cleaver of the darkness of ignorance. The sounding Conch is the dispeller of illusion. The Discus is the wheel of time. The Mace is for destroying evil. The garland which Visnu wears is Nature. His vehicle Garuda is the wind personified. The Loveliness of the three worlds is his consort. The sun and the moon are his two jewels, Kaustubha and Srivatsa. When we call to mind the root-meaning of Visnu which is,— one who saturates the whole world, or, one who envelopes the whole world, — the significance of the explanations of the Varahapuranam becomes at once apparent.

PLATE XXVI.

To face p. 79



(a) Viṣṇu.



(b) Viṣṇu from Deorā.

and so on. This arrangement of the incarnations of different ages according to the different stages of evolution of the animal world and civilisation, does not appear to be accidental.

Some texts distinguish twenty-four varieties of the images of Viṣṇu.* Different arrangements of the four attributes, Śaṅkha, Chakra, Gadā and Padma, in the four hands of the image, give rise to these varieties.

Two of the attributes of Viṣṇu, namely, the Mace and the Discus, are sometimes personified, the former receiving a female and the latter, a male shape.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a}{1}$ Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, 2′-8″×1′-5″. It has the *Kṛttimukha* sign at the top. Two front hands are broken. Ten incarnations are represented. A very well-executed piece of sculpture.

Found somewhere in Vikrampur and presented by Babu Rameśa Chandra Dāsa.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a}{2}$ Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, 4′-1″×2′-2″. All the four hands of Viṣṇu as well as the crest of his crown are gone. A well-executed piece of sculpture. *Kṛttimukha* at the top. Representations of a centaur upon an elephant on the two sides. Representations of a Kinnara (a fabulous being, half-man, half-bird,—traditionally well-versed in music) and his wife near the two shoulders of the god are remarkable.

Found somewhere in Vikrampur and presented by the wife of late Babu Mohinī Mohana Dāsa of Sabjimahal, Dacca.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a}{3}$ Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, 3′-I″×2′. *Kṛttimukha.* The ten incarnations are represented within ten circles of foliage round the head of the god.

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* For details, *vide* Pandit B. B. Bidyabinod's "Varieties of the Visnu Images", Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. Vol. I, No. 2.

Found somewhere in Vikrampur and presented by Babu Satya Charaṇa Majumdār of Sonāraṅg, Dt. Dacca.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a.}{4}$ A peculiar image of Viṣṇu in black stone, 3′-3″ × 1′-7″. The god is represented as a pot-bellied corpulent person and an umbrella is figured at the top. This pot-bellied representation perhaps depicts Viṣṇu as Viśvambhara (the god who pervades the whole world).

Presented by Babu Aśvinī Kumāra Chakravartī of Purāpārā, Dt. Dacca.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a.}{5}$ Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, 2′-9″ × 1′-5″. *Kṛttimukha.* Ten incarnations.

Found somewhere in Vikrampur and presented by Babu Yogendra Nāth Gupta.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a.}{6}$ Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, 3′-6″ × 2′. *Kṛttimukha.* Miniature images of the ten incarnations on the two sides, in bold relief. A well-executed piece of sculpture.

Found at Deorā, P. S. Bhāṅgā, Dt. Faridpur ; acquired by the Government under the Treasure Trove Act and placed in the Dacca Museum.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a.}{7}$ Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, 3′-4″ × 1′-10″. Head and two arms broken. The broken head contains a very peculiar round hole in the centre. The workmanship is of very fine quality though the artistic merit is not great. *Kṛttimukha* at the top.

Presented by the wife of late Babu Mohinī Mohana Dāsa of Sabjimahal, Dacca.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a.}{8}$ A crude miniature image of Viṣṇu in black stone, 6″ high, without his wives or Garuḍa.

PLATE XXVII.



Viṣṇu from Gosāñīvāḍī. 3. A. (i) a
14

Found in the *Deul* at Sonāraṅg and presented by Babu Dharaṇī Mohana Sena of Sonāraṅg, Dt. Dacca.

3. A. (i) a./9 Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, 3′ high. *Kṛtti-mukha.* Presented by Rai Rameśa Chandra Guha Bahadur of Vajrayoginī, Dt. Dacca.

3. A (i) a./10 A sandstone image of Viṣṇu, 3′-3″ in height. Very much mutilated. The stone broke into two parts, perhaps after the image had been carved out of the block, and these were fastened together by some kind of stone-cement which is still quite effective.

Discovered in the bed of a canal near Mokāmkholā close to the Taṅgibāḍī Police station, Dt. Dacca.

3. A. (i) a./11 Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, 26″. *Umbrella.* Ten incarnations. Lower right corner broken.

Presented by Babu Yogendra Nātha Gupta.

3. A. (i) a/12. Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, about 6′ in height. It was obtained about 35 years ago from some place in Vikrampur by the late Vaikunṭha Nātha Sena of Sonāraṅg and presented to the late Babu Radhikā Bhūṣaṇa Rāya of Ḍālbāzār, Dacca, along with several other images. It was presented to the Dacca Museum in April, 1923, by his daughter Śrīmatī Kṛṣṇadāsī Chaudhurāṇī at the instance of Mr. A. N. Moberly, Commissioner, Dacca Division.

The image is of the usual class of Viṣṇu images, holding Śaṅkha, Chakra, Gadā and Padma. The lower left arm holding Śaṅkha, is broken away and lost. There is a conspicuous umbrella at the top and the image is devoid of complicated ornamentations,—a characteristic of images surmounted by *Umbrellas* as opposed to those with the *Kṛttimukha* at the top.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a}{13}$ Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, about 3′ high. *Kṛttimukha.* The same history as of the image described above. The same donor.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a}{14}$ A very beautiful image of Viṣṇu in black stone, about 4′-6″ in height. The modelling of the faces of the three principal figures is exquisite. The upper part of the slab was broken in transit and has been bound together by wire and cement. *Kṛttimukha.*

Found at the village of Gosāñibāḍī, P. S. Kāliākur, Dt. Dacca. In the adjacent village of Baḍuibāḍī are the ruins of the royal palace of Yaśopālā, a local chief of pre-Muhammadan days.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a.}{15}$ Image of Viṣṇu, in *octo-alloy* metal. The god stands alone over an inverted lotus. His head with hair tied in a top-knot is capped by a conical crown of three tiers. There is also another knot at the back. The weapons in his hands are in the following order, viz :—Śaṅkha, Gadā, Chakra and Padma. It is therefore an image of the *Śrīdhara* variety. It is apparently a rather recent image, the handiwork of some up-country artist.

Found at Lāksām, Dt. Tippera, presented by Babu Atula Chandra Bāgchī, B. A.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a.}{16}$ A *wooden* image of Viṣṇu, rendered extremely fragile by the effect of weather, 4′-4½″×1′-4″. The climate of Bengal is not very congenial to the preservation of the products of the art of wood-carving which at one time must have reached high excellence in the country. Samples of carved wood of authentic antiquity are rather rare ; but the Dacca Museum is very fortunate in this respect. It possesses five samples of really old carved wood. Two of these, the

PLATE XXVIII.



Wooden Viṣṇu from Kṛṣṇapur,

present image of Viṣṇu and another image of Garuḍa, are of really good quality. The third, a carved wooden capital of a pillar is a first rate work of art. They will be described in their proper places.

The present image was, in all probability, made of sandalwood. It has become so fragile with age that pieces can be crushed to powder between the fingers. The image is of the usual type. The *Kṛttimukha* is displayed at the top, below which are two flying Vidyādharas with garlands. Two dancing figures are depicted on the two sides of the half-kneeling Garuḍa at the bottom. On the right corner of the bottom, a corpulent individual sits cross-legged with folded arms,—perhaps a representation of the donor.

Discovered at the village of Kṛṣṇapur, P. S. Murādnagar, Dt. Tippera. Presented by Mr. J. C. French, I. C. S.

$\frac{\text{3. A. (i) a.}}{\text{17}}$ A miniature sand-stone image of Viṣṇu, 5″ in height. From the Raghurāmpur excavations.

$\frac{\text{3. A. (i) a.}}{\text{18.}}$ A SEAL of baked clay, $2\frac{1}{2}$″, containing an image of Viṣṇu in low relief. The god has four hands, two of which rest on the heads of two attendants on his two sides,—evidently Gadā-*devī* on the proper right and Chakra-*puruṣa* on the proper left. Of the other two hands, the right one holds a Lotus by the stalk and the left holds a Conch-shell. There is an **inscription** on either side of the god, between each pair of hands. The letters are rather indistinct, but their character shows that they belong to a fairly early period,—probably the 7th-8th century A. D.

The inscription appears to read :—

চিরাত	||	শ্রীশভরক
* * ম	||	স্তু

On the back of the seal appears a number of **string-marks,** one perpendicular and six horizontal. The use of these seals in closing official and private letters was well-demonstrated by the discovery of more than 700 similar seals from Basārh, the ancient Vaiśālī (A. S. R. 1903—4, P. 81 f). Found at Sābhār (? Rājāsan), Dt. Dacca.

Presented by Babu Ananta Kumāra Sena,
Sub-Registrar, Sābhār, in 1915.

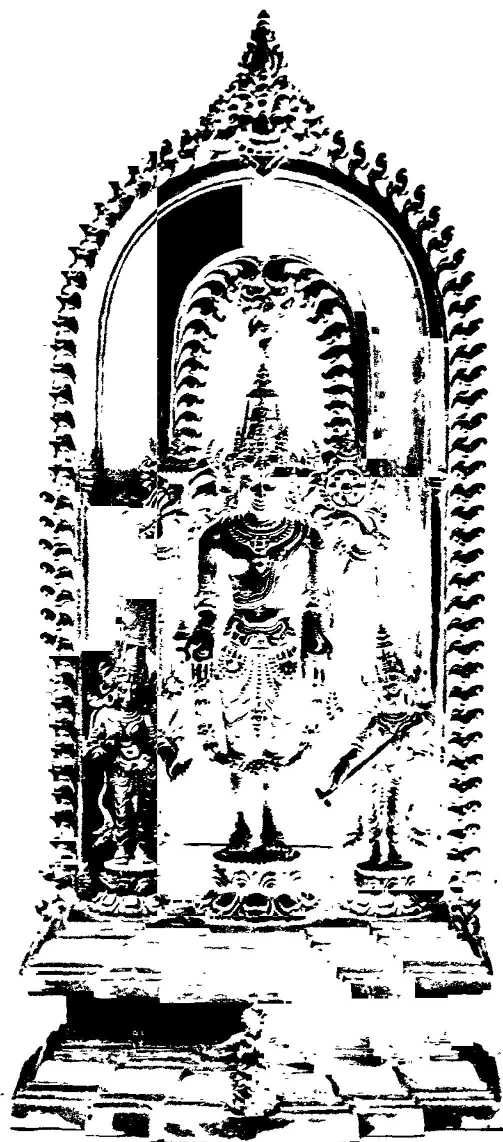
The images of Viṣṇu, scattered throughout the country, some worshipped and some lying in neglect, are too numerous to be exhaustively catalogued. A few only of those which are known to the writer and which have specially distinctive features are noticed below.

[1. A Silver image of Viṣṇu discovered in 1909 from a ditch by the District Board road, a little to the south of the *Deul* at Churāin. Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Exquisite workmanship.

2. Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, worshipped at Vidyākūṭ, but discovered at Bāghāurā close by, in the Brāhmaṇbāriā Sub-Division of the Tippera district. The pedestal is inscribed with four lines of an inscription which shows that the image was installed in the **3rd year** of King **Mahipala** in the country of **Samatata** by a merchant Lokadatta, son of Vasudatta, an inhabitant of the village of Bilakinda, which may be identified with the village of Bilkenduāi close by. *Vide* J. A. S. B., January, 1915.

The following is the text of the inscription :—

১। ৎ সম্বত্ ৩ মাঘদিনে ২৭ শ্রীমহীপালদেবরাজ্যে
২। কীর্ত্তিরিয়ং নারায়ণভট্ট [া] রকাখ্যা সমতটে বিলকীন্দ-
৩। কীয়পরমবৈষ্ণবস্য বণিক্লোকদত্তস্য বসুদত্তসুত-
৪। স্য মাতাপিত্রোরাত্মনশ্চ পুণ্যযশো অভিবৃদ্ধয়ে।



Silver Visnu $\frac{3\ 4\ (1)\ a}{1\ 1\ 1}$



Viṣṇu from Bāghāurā and Inscription.

3. A. (i) a
[2]



Viṣṇu from Keoār and Inscription.

3. A. (i) a
[3]

TRANSLATION.

The year 3, the 27th day of Māgha. In Samataṭa, in the kingdom of the illustrious Mahīpāla Deva, this meritorious work, namely (the image of) the Lord Nārāyaṇa is of the merchant Lokadatta, a great devotee of Viṣṇu, son of Vasudatta, belonging to (the village of) Vilakinda, for the furtherance of the spiritual merit of himself and parents.

3. Image of Viṣṇu in black stone, about 4′ 6″ in height. Found at Keoār, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca. Fixed to the wall of the *Maṭha* in the village. The pedestal is inscribed with the following inscription in Bengali script of the 12th century A. D.

১। অয়মানুযমেয়েন সযোগাঙ্গভুবা বিভুঃ [।]
২। বঙ্গোকেন কৃতোবিষ্ণুর্বিষ্ণুসালোক্যকাম্যয়া [॥]
৩। বরেন্দ্রীতটকীয়েন শাণ্ডিল্যকুলজন্মনা [।] পিতাম-
৪। হস্য পৌত্রেণ প্রণপ্ত্রা শৌরিশর্ম্মণঃ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Desirous of a residence in the heaven of Viṣṇu, this (image of the) Lord Viṣṇu was consecrated by Vaṅgoka, of the race of Śāṇḍilya, hailing from (the village of) Taṭa in Varendrī, grandson of Pitāmaha, great-grandson of Śauri-Śarmman and offspring of the body of Sayoga and (begotten on) Anuyamī (*i. e.* Yamunā).

4. An image of Viṣṇu in black stone found somewhere in Vikrampur and now preserved at Svāmībāg,—Dacca. *Kṛttimukha.* The pedestal contains two lines of inscription in Bengali script of the 9th—10th century A. D. The letters are plain enough, but the apparent reading gives no meaning whatever. It is possible that the inscription is in a dialect spoken in Eastern India in the 9th—10th century A. D.

5. An image of Viṣṇu in black stone of the Govinda variety, procured somewhere from Vikrampur and now preserved inside the western temple at Svāmībāg, Dacca. The name Govinda is inscribed in the characters of the 11-12th century A. D. on the pedestal of the image.

6. A very beautiful image of Viṣṇu in black stone worshipped at Śiāldi in Vikrampur, Dt. Dacca. A work of art of very great merit.

7. The famous wooden image of Viṣṇu worshipped at Dhāmrāi, Dt. Dacca, under the name of *Yaśo-Mādhava.* It has a series of legends, connecting it with Yaśo-pāla referred to above,—3. A. (1) a./14. Unfortunately, the image is painted with a thick layer of paint, hiding all traces of antiquity. Large crowds of pilgrims visit the temple of Yaśo-Mādhava during the car festival, in the month of July, every year.

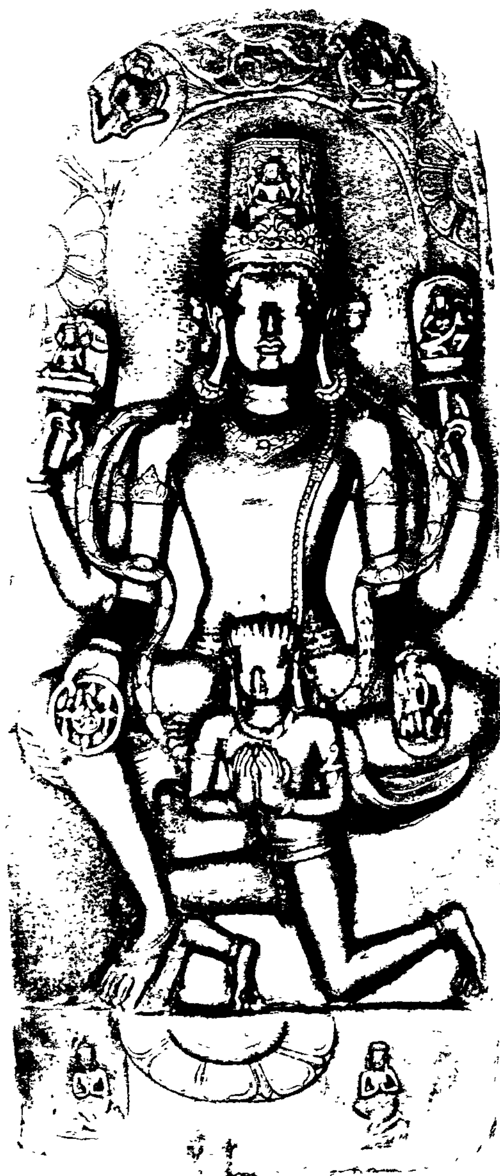
8. Another beautiful image of Viṣṇu in black stone worshipped in a small temple at Dhāmrāi, Dt. Dacca.

9. A unique image of Viṣṇu in greyish black stone, about 6′-4″ in height, worshipped at Lakṣmaṇkāṭi, P. S. Gaurnadī, Dt. Backerganj, in the house of Babu Guruprasanna Ghoṣa. It was discovered in a big tank at Āṭak, immediately south of Lakṣmaṇkāṭi in March, 1889 (Chaitra, 1295 B. S.). There are vestiges of the ruins of a temple by the side of the tank.

The image is in a perfect state of preservation. Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, kneels on one leg with folded hands on a lotus pedestal. Viṣṇu sits on his outstretched wings with right leg pendant. The god has the Chakra in the normal right hand, which he holds *not* by a handle as in the images ordinarily met with, but by the rim. The Chakra-*puruṣa* is depicted in miniature in the centre of the Discus, as if turning round and round. The normal left hand holds within its palm the miniature representation of a female with a mace



Viṣṇu of Śiāldī. $\frac{3. \text{A. (1) a.}}{[6]}$



Viṣṇu oi Lakṣmaṇakāṭı. $\frac{3\ A\ (i)\ a}{1\ 9\ 1}$

in her right hand,—evidently Gadā-*devī*. The attributes of the remaining two hands are also unique. The right hand holds the stalk of a lotus on which sits the goddess Kamalā with crossed legs, granting boons with her open right hand and holding a lotus in her left. Two elephants stand on two lotuses on her either side and pour water over her head from pitchers held by their trunks. The left hand of the god similarly holds the stalk of a lotus on which sits the goddess Sarasvatī playing on her Vīṇā. TheVīṇā, in the hands of the image of Sarasvatī accompanying Viṣṇu in the images ordinarily met with, has a straight shape. But here the Vīṇā is a boat-shaped instrument, exactly like that held by Samudra-Gupta, as depicted on his coins of the Lyrist type. On the crown of the god is depicted a four-armed male figure sitting with crossed legs. The two normal hands are placed on the lap in the *Dhyāna-mudrā*, one over the other. The other two hands hold indistinct objects. Two Vidyādharas appear on either side of the crown of the god. The Śrīvatsa and Kaustubha are not prominent, as they invariably are in ordinary images. In fact, these jewels can hardly be distinguished on the present image. Two devotees, one male and the other female, are depicted on either side of the pedestal. The stone is not as highly polished as images in black stone ordinarily are.

The image appears to be a very old piece of sculpture. The simplicity of the design, the extraordinary character of the attributes, the total absence of ornamentation, the unconventional method of depicting the Discus and the lotus pedestal, the antique shape of the *Vīṇā* on Sarasvatī's hands, the absence of the usual polish,—all tend to the same conclusion, viz: that it is a very old piece of sculpture, perhaps older than any described in this book. It may safely be ascribed to the pre-Pāla period. In simplicity of design, it is strongly reminiscent of Gupta sculptures.

10. A beautiful image of Viṣṇu in black stone, about 65″ in height, in the compound of the Dacca Collectorate. It was collected by the late Vaikuṇṭha Nātha Sena of Sonāraṅg about 35 years ago from some place in Vikrampur. The delicate, yet vigorous modelling of the faces of the principal figures is reminiscent of Javanese sculptures.]

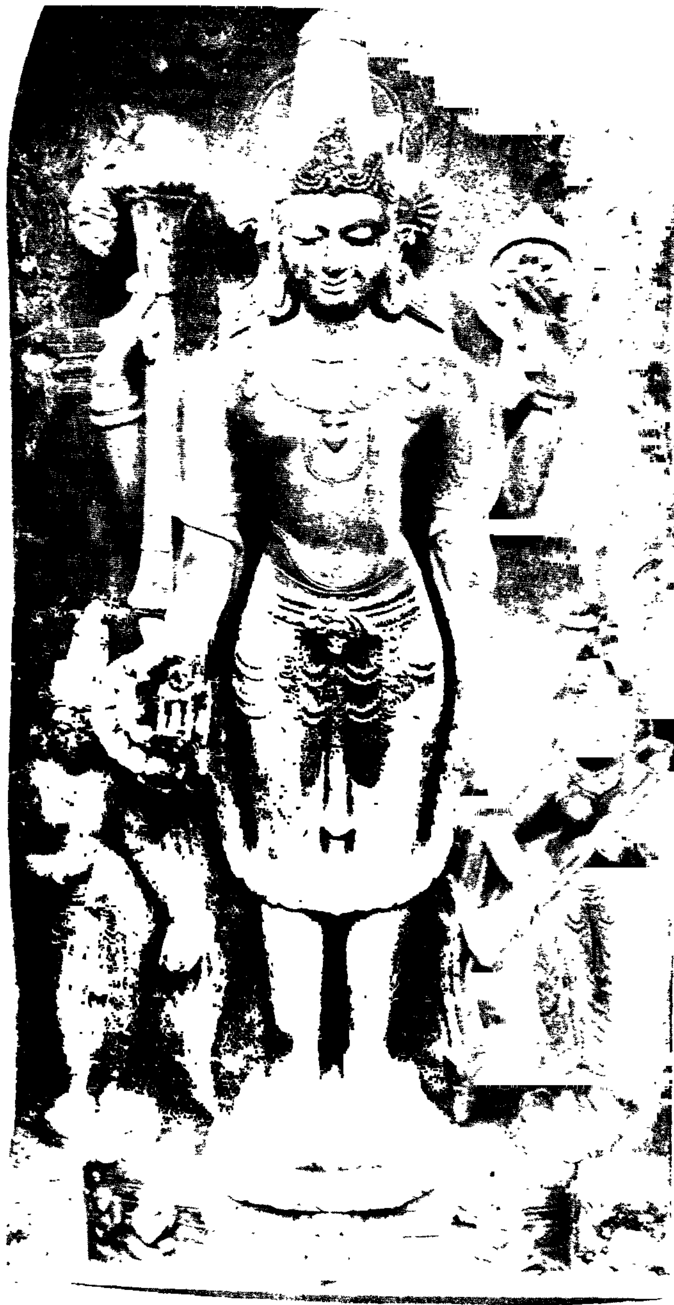
3. A. (i) b. LAKSMI-NARAYANA.

In this class of Viṣṇu images, the goddess Lakṣmī is represented sitting on the left thigh of Viṣṇu. These images bear a strong resemblance to the images of Umā-Maheśvara, described in a subsequent chapter,—3. A. (ii) e. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa images are extremely rare. As far as is known, the image described below is the only one discovered in Bengal.

[1. Image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa in black stone, about 20″ in height, worshipped at the house of the Bhaumikas of Bāstā, about four miles south-west of the town of Dacca. It was discovered some 30 years ago in a village close by.

The god Nārāyaṇa is seated on a lotus with the right leg pendant. He has four hands holding, clockwise, *Śaṅkha*, *Padma*, *Gadā* and *Chakra*. The normal left hand which holds the *Chakra*, also encircles the body of Lakṣmī.

The goddess Lakṣmī is sitting on the left thigh of Viṣṇu. Her right hand is placed round the neck of her lord. With the left hand, she holds a lotus by its stalk. Her right leg is folded over the thigh of Viṣṇu. The left leg is pendant. The kneeling Garuḍa is depicted below as if supporting the lotus seat on which the pair is sitting. Garuḍa has four hands. The normal two are folded in the usual *añjali* pose. The other two support the pendant legs of the god and goddess.]



The Viṣṇu in the Collectorate compound, Dacca.

PLATE XXXIV.



Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa from Bastā.

3. A. (i) c. VISNUPATTAS.

These are square slabs of stone or metal, with the image of Viṣṇu on one side and his ten incarnations on the other. As a special class of votive relic, they have been much discussed.*

No specific name for these slabs is forthcoming; but I think they can be correctly designated as Viṣṇupaṭṭas on the analogy of the well-known Āryyapaṭṭas of the Jainas, of a similar nature. They are without doubt specimens of very inferior sculpture, the work of novices, and, in all probability, were kept in large numbers in Viṣṇu temples to be sold to poorer devotees or pilgrims at cheap rates. They would carry one home as a memento of their visit to the temple and hang it on the mat-wall of their dwellings, as a sacred object to receive occasional homely worship. The custom is still to be found in a living form at Dhāmrāi in the Dacca District, where hundreds of clay representations of the famous Yaśo-Mādhava image worshipped there, are annually sold to pilgrims. The discovery of a similar slab of copper, as described in the Journal of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, vol xxi, P. 199, shows that Viṣṇupaṭṭas were also wrought in metal.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ c}{1}$ A square slab of black stone, $6'' \times 6'' \times \frac{7}{8}''$, carved in low relief on both sides with figures. The obverse is divided

* The following bibliography will be useful to other workers. 1. Dr. Buhler in Epigraphia Indica, vol. II. P. 311. 2. *Pravasi* vol. VII, No. 7. —"Collection of Archaeological relics in North Bengal",—by Babu A. K. Maitreya, B. L., C. I. E. 3. *Pravasi*, vol. xiv, No. 5. —"The stone slabs with the ten incarnations" by Babu N. K. Bhattasali, M. A. 4. Journal of the *Vangiya Sahitya Parisat*, vol. xxi. P. 141. Babu R. D. Banerjee, M. A on "The *Aryya-patta* of Kausamvi. 5. Ditto, page 199. "An engraved copper slab",—by Babus P. Sehanabisa and R. D. Banerjee M. A.

into nine compartments. The arrangement of the figures in the compartments is shown below :—

Flying *Vidyādhara* with a sword in the right hand and a cup in the left.	Image of Śrī sitting with right leg pendant; two elephants are pouring water over her from either side.	Lost.
Image of Lakṣmī, a fly-whisk in the right hand and a lotus in the left, standing under a trefoil arch surmounted by a *Śikhara*.	Image of Viṣṇu, sitting with right leg pendant, under a trefoil arch supported on two pillars and surmounted by a *Śikhara* representing a temple. Attributes, as usual.	Sarasvatī playing on a *Vīṇā* under a trefoil arch with *Śikhara*.
A dancing or kneeling figure.	Image of kneeling Garuḍa with two *Nāga* girls on his two sides, who are praying with folded hands.	Lost.

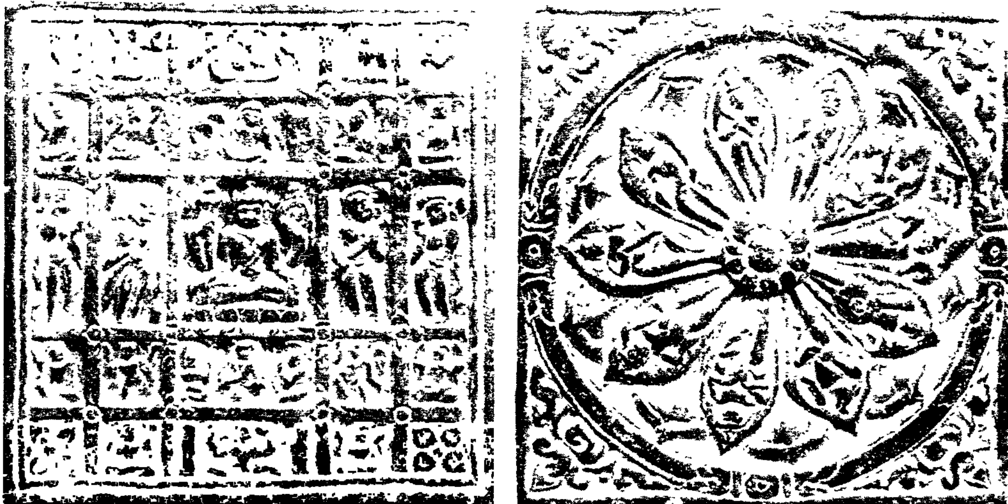
The reverse contains a thick circle with a lotus in low relief within it. On each petal is an incarnation of Viṣṇu in the following order :—(i) Fish (*Matsya*) (ii) Tortoise (*Kūrma*) (iii) Boar (*Varāha*) (iv) Man-lion (*Nṛsiṁha*) (v) Dwarf (*Vāmana*) (vi) Rāma (vii) Paraśu-Rāma (viii) Bala-Rāma (ix) Buddha (x) Kalki (on horse-back).

The slab is broken into two halves and the two left corners are lost.

Found at the *Deul* at Khilpāḍā, P. S. Taṅgibāḍī, Dt. Dacca, and presented by the writer.



Viṣṇupaṭṭa, 3. A. (2) c
1



Viṣṇupaṭṭa, 3 A. (1) c
2

$\frac{3. A. (i) c.}{2}$ A square slab of black stone $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{3}{5}''$, like the above. The obverse is divided into 25 compartments, as represented below :—

A *Vidyā-dhara.*		A curious bust of a female (?) figure in a boat. Rāhu ?		A *Vidyā-dhara.*
		Goddess Śrī		
A female attendant.	Lakṣmī.	Viṣṇu, sitting cross-legged on a lotus seat. Attributes, as usual.	Sara-svatī.	A female attendant.
		Garuḍa with the two female Nāgas.		
A flower of four petals.		A dancing female figure.		A flower of four petals.

The other compartments are filled with unrecognisable deities. The reverse contains, as before, a ten-petalled lotus in relief with an incarnation of Viṣṇu on each of the petals. The same incarnations and the same serial order.

Found somewhere in Vikrampur and presented by the writer.

$\frac{3. A. (i) c.}{3}$ A square slab of mud-coloured stone, $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{4}{5}''$, like the above. Obverse,— nine compartments. Viṣṇu sitting

crossed-legged. Reverse,—as usual, but Paraśu-Rāma is omitted and his place is taken by the Trivikrama form of the Dwarf incarnation with the left leg raised to the sky. From the Raghurāmpur excavation.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ c}{4}$ A square slab of black stone like the above, $4\frac{1}{5}'' \times 4\frac{1}{5}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$. On the obverse, seven compartments as shown below.

Flower.	Śrī.	Flower (lost),
Goddess, under a beautiful long *śikhara* of a temple.	Viṣṇu, sitting with one leg pendant.	Goddess, upper half gone.
	Garuḍa.	

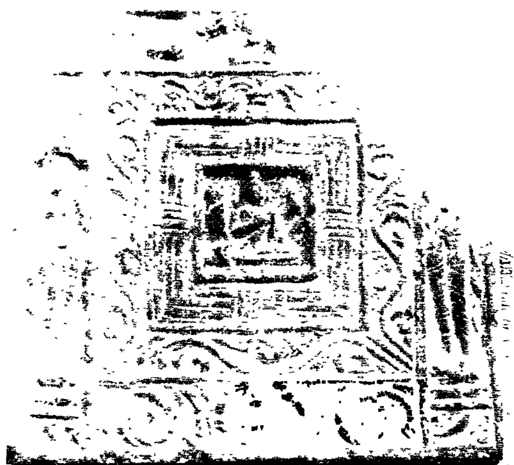
Reverse,—the ten-petalled lotus with the incarnations represented in the following order.

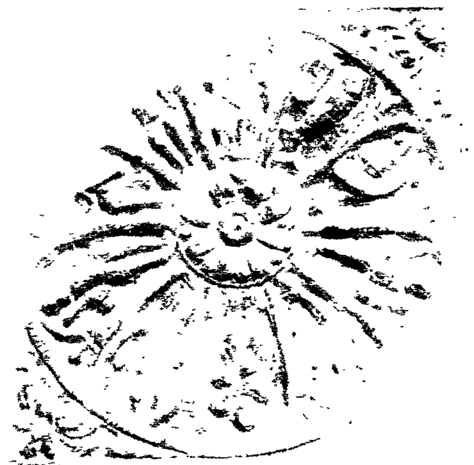
1. Fish. 2. Tortoise 3. Boar 4. Man-lion 5. Dwarf. 6. Dwarf, with one leg raised to sky. 7. Paraśu-Rāma. The weapon in hand is not like an axe but like a club. 8. Rāma. 9. Buddha. 10. Kalki. Bala-Rāma is omitted.

The slab has lost the right upper corner.

From the Raghurāmpur excavation.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ c}{5}$ The lower left corner of a slab, similar to the previous four. Evidently the slab was divided on the obverse into 9 compartments like No. 1 above. Only the lower left corner of the slab, with the compartment immediately above it, has been preserved. The lower compartment contains the figure of a *Vidyādhara*. The upper compartment contains the lower half of a goddess standing on a tortoise. This is





Viṣṇupaṭṭa, $\frac{3. \text{A.} \ldots}{4}$





Viṣṇupaṭṭa, $\frac{3 \text{ A. (1)} \ldots}{5}$

evidently a representation of the goddess Pṛthivī, who sometimes accompanies Viṣṇu and who is one of his wives. It would thus appear that the goddess standing to the right of Viṣṇu on the obverse of the slab described above, is also a representation of Pṛthivī,—the goddess standing to the left being Lakṣmī.

The reverse contains only two incarnations,—the dancing figure of Rāma with an arrow ; and half of a second figure with the axe, looking like a club,—Paraśu-Rāma.

From the Raghurāmpur excavation.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ c}{6}$ A fragment of a Viṣṇu-paṭṭa. On the obverse, a *Kṛttimukha* is the only figure that remains. Fragments of Paraśu-Rāma and Bala-Rāma on the reverse can be recognised.

From the Raghurāmpur excavation.

3. A (i) d. INCARNATIONS OF VISNU.

The idea of the personification of Divinity is to be met with in almost all religious systems of the world. It is a very common and familiar idea in India. Almost all Indian religious reformers are held to be incarnations of one divinity or another. Chaitanya, the great apostle of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, who flourished during the reign of Husain Shah, about four centuries ago, is by this time an established incarnation of Viṣṇu, and was recognised as such, by a section of his followers, even during his life time. The great teacher Rāma-Kṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa, whose demise took place only 37 years ago, is beginning to be worshipped as an incarnation of God. Śaṅkarāchāryya is regarded as an incarnation of Śiva.

Though all gods may have their incarnations on earth, those of Viṣṇu are by far the most popular and well-known. The rôle of the Preserver of the Universe, which is

Viṣṇu's special function, necessitated frequent manifestation on earth in human or superhuman forms. Viṣṇu is a particularly active deity even in the Ṛg-Veda. His supremacy over other gods began to be pronounced in the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas, and a time came when the prominent heroes of legends and religious and political movements, were all identified as incarnations of Viṣṇu.

Suppression of evil and promotion of good have always been the purpose of the incarnations. This is very well-expressed in the famous lines of the *Gītā* :—

যদা যদা হি ধর্ম্মস্ত গ্লানির্ভবতি ভারত।
অভ্যুত্থানমধর্ম্মস্ত তদাত্মানং সৃজাম্যহং॥

পরিত্রাণায় সাধূনাং বিনাশায় চ দুষ্কৃতাম্।
ধর্ম্ম-সংস্থাপনার্থায় সম্ভবামি যুগে যুগে॥

Oh scion of Bharata! whenever piety declines and sin prevails, I then take unto myself a form. To succour the pious, to suppress evil-doers and to establish righteousness, I incarnate myself from age to age.

Some of the incarnations, as has already been said, are the heroes of legends and some are historical personages. The source of four out of the five legendary incarnations can be traced back to the Vedas and the Vaidic literature.

Ten is the most commonly accepted number of the incarnations, but the list was smaller originally. In some enumerations, only six incarnations are mentioned, while seven is the number fixed upon, in other passages. The list was sometimes extended to 22 or 23, including many famous sages, as well as Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, and Buddha the founder of Buddhism.

Even when *ten* became the accepted number of the incarnations, the personalities varied in actual enumeration.

The following couplet is found in the southern recension of the Mahābhārata* :—

মৎস্যঃ কূর্ম্মো বরাহশ্চ নরসিংহোঽথ বামনঃ ।
রামো রামশ্চ রামশ্চ বুদ্ধঃ কল্কীতি তে দশ ॥

The ten incarnations are the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, (Paraśu) Rāma, (Dāśarathi) Rāma, (Bala) Rāma, Buddha and Kalki.

This is the list followed in Bengal with slight variations here and there, and it is an oft-quoted *Śloka* in the mouth of Bengal *Paṇḍits.* Jayadeva, (*circa* 1170 A. D.) in his *Gīta-govinda,* in the famous hymn to the Ten Incarnations, follows the same list.

In describing images of Viṣṇu, reference has been made to the fact that many of the images contain representations of the Ten Incarnations. The Viṣṇupaṭṭas described in the preceding section also contain the Ten Incarnations. A study of the following comparative table overleaf, prepared from these sources, will throw an interesting light on the variations and order of the incarnations, actually observed in Bengal during the 10th—12th century A. D.

It is difficult to explain why, in some of the representations, a palpable chronological error is committed by placing Paraśu-Rāma after Rāma. If the artists were ignorant of such a universally known chronology, it is to be wondered why their more learned neighbours and customers did not put them right. The only two images that represent the incarnations in the correct chronological order, it may be noted, are presentations by the same donor and presumably hail from the same locality. Possibly, when once made, the chronological mistake pointed out above, became sanctified by long usage.

* Hopkins'—"Epic Mythology." P 217.

Source	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Gitagovinda	Matsya	Kurmma	Varaha	Nrsimha	Vamana	Parasu-Rama	Rama	Bala-Rama	Buddha	Kalki
Visnu No. 1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Rama	Parasu-Rama	,,	,,	,,
,, No. 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,, No. 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Parasu-Rama	Rama	,,	,,	,,
,, No. 6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Rama	Parasu-Rama	,,	,,	,,
,, No. 11	,, (lost)	,,	,,	,,	,,	Parasu-Rama	Rama	,,	,,	,,
Visnupatta No. 1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Rama	Parasu-Rama	,,	,,	,,
,, No. 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,, No. 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Trivikrama with left leg raised	Rama	,,	,,	,,
,, No. 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Parasu-Rama	Rama	,,	,,

The two Viṣṇupaṭṭas (Nos. 1 and 2), procured from the *Deul* at Khilpāḍā, repeat the chronological mistake. Viṣṇupaṭṭas Nos. 3 and 4, however, are different. In both of them Vāmana (Dwarf) is followed by his active manifestation Trivikrama, with the left leg raised to the sky. This duplication necessitated omission, and No. 3 deletes Paraśu-Rāma and No. 4, Bala-Rāma. It is a note-worthy fact that Kṛṣṇa, whose cult is so prevalent in Bengal and whose amours Jayadeva sang in such melodious strains, is nowhere accepted as an incarnation. In his Gīta-Govinda, Jayadeva appears to make out the ten incarnations to be so many manifestations of Kṛṣṇa, perhaps following the dictum that Kṛṣṇa is not an incarnation, but God Himself. It should also be mentioned that the rival theory which makes Kṛṣṇa an *aṁśāvatāra*, only a partial incarnation, is no less strong and is supported by such manifestly Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas as the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, There is epigraphic support of this theory in the Belāva plate of Bhoja-Varmman, (*circa* 1090 A D.), *śloka* 4. (J. A. S. B. 1914. P. 127; E. I. XII. P. 39) :—

সোপীহ গোপীশতকেলিকারঃ
কৃষ্ণো মহাভারতসূত্রধারঃ।
অ [া] দ্যঃ* পুমানংশকৃতাবতারঃ
প্রাদুর্ভূবোদ্ধৃতভূমিভারঃ ॥

* Both Messrs. Basak and Banerjee read অর্ঘ্যঃ in place of আদ্যঃ; but the writer read it as আদ্যঃ when he, for the first time, published a reading of the Belava plate in *Dacca Review*, July, 1912. The writer still thinks that আদ্যঃ is the correct reading and that অর্ঘ্যঃ cannot be supported, The reference evidently is to Chapter IV, Book XI, of the Bhagavata-Purana, *slokas* 3 and 22 :—

"When the Primeval Lord Narayana made this universe with the elements created by himself and entered it with a part of His Own energy, He became known as the *Purusa*." 3.

"The Lord unborn, born in the family of the Yadus to relieve the pressure (of evil) on the world, will perform deeds difficult of accomplishment even by the gods." 22.

Kṛṣṇa, who sported here with hundreds of milkmaids, who was the chief actor of the Mahābhārata, the First Being, incarnated in part, who made the world lighter,—he too flourished (in this family).

When we find such an open declaration of the partial nature of the Kṛṣṇa incarnation, in a copper-plate grant of a staunch Vaiṣṇava royal family of that part of Bengal, with the sculptural traditions of which we are concerned, we may stop to think whether this might not have been the cause of the deletion of Kṛṣṇa from the list of incarnations.

Many of the incarnations, it may be noted, figure as the revealer, or chief hero of a Purāṇa. Thus Matsya, Kūrmma, Varāha, Vāmana, each has one principal Purāṇa attached to his name. The *Rāmāyaṇa* may be taken as the Purāṇa of Rāma, while the *Mahābhārata* is a Purāṇa of Kṛṣṇa, whose history is dealt with in the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas also. Nṛsiṁha, Kalki and Bhārgava (Paraśu-Rāma) each has an Upa-Purāṇa (minor Purāṇa) assigned to him.

Below is given in brief the legends connected with each of the incarnations.

Matsyāvatāra. **The Fish Incarnation.**

"In the waters of the Ocean at the time of Deluge, Oh Keśava, incarnated as Fish, Thou easily heldest the Vedas as if in the character of a boat. Victory to Thee, Oh Hari, Lord of the World." *Jayadeva.*

The story of the Fish Incarnation first appears in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Kāṇḍa I, Chap. VIII.

One morning Manu, the great progenitor of mankind, was washing his hands when he felt a tiny fish between them. The Fish implored protection of Manu, who began to rear it.

It rapidly grew, however, to be a horned animal of immense size and had to be thrown into the ocean. The Fish predicted the Deluge and warned Manu to take shelter in a boat, when it would actually arrive. The boat was to be tied to the horn of the Fish and thus towed to a safe haven in the Northern Mountain. The Fish thus saved Manu from the Deluge. The Purāṇas make Manu get into the boat with the Vedas and with representative creatures and seeds. This is the significance of Jayadeva's reference to the rescue of the Vedas by the Fish. The story is to be found in the Matsya, Bhāgavata and Agni Purāṇas and also in the Mahābhārata. But in the last, the Fish is an incarnation of Brahmā Prajāpati.*

Kūrmmāvatāra. **The Tortoise Incarnation.**

"*On Thy vaster back glorified by the corn produced through holding the mountain,*† *rests* (*this vast*) *earth, Oh Keśava, incarnated as Tortoise. Victory to Thee, Oh Hari, Lord of the World.*"
Jayadeva.

Here again, the root of the legend of the Tortoise Incarnation is to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.* (VII. 4, 3, 5.)

"Having assumed the form of a Tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); hence the word *Kūrmma.* Kaśyapa means tortoise. Hence men say, all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa. This Tortoise is the same as Āditya."

Muir's Sanskrit Texts. Pt. IV. P. 23.

*J. R. A. S. 1895. P. 167. Mythological Studies in the Rg-Veda, by Prof. Macdonell.

†*Dharani-Dharana* in the original. It has been explained by the commentator, Pujari Gosvami, as 'holding the earth'. But that does not bring in the chief achievement of Visnu in his Tortoise form. Moreover, the expression becomes tautologic.

Though the Tortoise here is Prajāpati, after the declaration that it is the same as Āditya its identification with Viṣṇu in the Purāṇas was easy.

Viṣṇu in his Tortoise form held on his back the mountain Mandara which was used by the Devas and Asuras as a churning rod for churning the ocean with, to get ambrosia.* The story is found in the Kūrmma Purāṇa, Chap. I, and also in the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.

Jayadeva's reference to the tortoise supporting the earth perhaps refers to the popular belief that the earth rests on the back of a tortoise.

Varāhāvatāra. The Boar Incarnation.

"The Earth rests on the point of Thy tusk, Oh Keśava, incarnated as Boar, like the blemish on the digit of the moon. Victory to thee, Oh Hari, Lord of the World."

Jayadeva.

In this incarnation, Viṣṇu rescued the earth which had disappeared under the water, and established it above water level. The subsidence is ascribed to different causes in different passages. (i) To the weight of the excess of population. (ii) To the weight of sin of the sinful. (iii) To the Deluge. (iv) To Viṣṇu's unbearable splendour.†

The Liṅga Purāṇa ascribes the raising of the earth to Prajāpati, who is declared to be the same as Nārāyaṇa. In Vaidic literature, it is Prajāpati who raised the earth in the form of a Boar, whom the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa calls Emūṣa.‡ (XIV. 1. 2,11.)

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* 'To recover various objects lost in the Deluge'—says Prof. Macdonell, (Vedic Mythology. P 41). But I cannot find any authority for the statement.

† Hopkins : Epic Mythology. P. 210.

‡ J. R. A. S. 1895. P. 178 f.

Nṛsiṁhāvatāra. The Man-lion Incarnation.

"*On Thy lotus-like hand, Oh Keśava, incarnated as Man-lion, are the wonderfully pointed nails with which Thou torest to pieces the body of Hiraṇya-kaśipu like a bee. Victory to Thee, Oh Hari, Lord of the World.*" *Jayadeva.*

Hiraṇyakaśipu, a demon and a hater of gods, particularly of Viṣṇu, had a son Prahlāda by name, who was as great a devotee of Viṣṇu as his father was an enemy. Hiraṇyakaśipu made every attempt to wean Prahlāda from the worship of Viṣṇu and subjected him to various tortures, but all to no purpose. One day Hiraṇyakaśipu asked Prahlāda where his Viṣṇu might be, and the latter answered that He was everywhere ; pointing to a stone pillar at hand, he said that his Viṣṇu resided even in that pillar. Hiraṇyakaśipu, in his wrath, ran to the pillar and kicked it, whereupon Viṣṇu emerged from the pillar as the Nṛsiṁha and tore Hiraṇyakaśipu to pieces.

In some versions, Hiraṇyakaśipu is killed by Nṛsiṁha in open fight. Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Book 7. Ch. 8) makes Hiraṇyakaśipu strike the pillar with his fist and not kick it. In Bengal sculptures, Hiraṇyakaśipu is generally represented as kicking the pillar. Mr. Gopināth Rāo alludes to Hiraṇyakaśipu's kicking the pillar, (Hindu Iconography. Vol. I. Pt. I. P. 148) and refers to the version as that of the Pādma Purāṇa But I am unable to trace the passage in question in the *Vaṅgavāsī* edition of the work. Śiva Purāṇa makes Hiraṇyakaśipu strike the pillar with his sword. (Śiva Purāṇa, Pt. I, Chapter 61).

The Man-lion Incarnation is mentioned in the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, 10, 1, 7. (Hopkins : Epic Mythology. P. 211).

Vāmanāvatāra. The Dwarf Incarnation.

"By Thy prowess, Oh Keśava, incarnated as the Dwarf, Thou deluded Bali taking the shape of a strange dwarf, the water proceeding from whose toe-nails sanctifies the whole world. Victory to thee, Oh Hari, Lord of the World."

Jayadeva.

In this incarnation, Viṣṇu was born as a dwarf to chastise the demon Bali, the great-grandson of Hiraṇyakaśipu, who had grown troublesome. Viṣṇu, taking the shape of a dwarf (*Vāmana*), went to Bali and begged of him only three strides of earth, which Bali readily granted. Thereupon, Viṣṇu appeared as Trivikrama with three legs. He covered the whole earth and sky with two of his feet and pushed down Bali to the nether regions with the remaining one. In sculptures, only two legs are generally shown,—the right leg, on which the god stands and the left leg, which is thrown up to the sky. Viṣṇu's three strides are famous in the Ṛg-Veda and Vaidic literature, and the development of the mythology regarding the Dwarf Incarnation of Viṣṇu can be very clearly traced down from the Vaidic sources.* The story is found in the majority of the Purāṇas and is essentially the same as given above.

Parasu-Rama.

"Thou flooded the earth, Oh Keśava, incarnated as the lord of the Bhṛgus, with the water, viz : the blood of the Kṣatriyas, and thus made it cool by the washing off of sin. Victory to Thee, Oh Hari, Lord of the World." *Jayadeva.*

* Vide Muir : Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol IV, p. 54 f. ; J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 168 f.

Plate XXXVI.

To face page 105.



The Boar Incarnation, 3. A. (I) d 2



The Boar Incarnation, 3. A. (I) d 1

Paraśu-Rāma is the first historical personage to be honoured as an *avatāra* in this list of ten. He was a Brahmin, born in the Bhṛgu clan. His father's name was Jamadagni, and his mother was Reṇukā, the daughter of a King. He is said to have exterminated the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times, as they had grown very arrogant and were committing all manner of excesses. His special symbol is the battle-axe.

The next incarnation **Rama,** born as the son of Daśaratha, King of Ayodhyā, is famous from Vālmīki's great epic, the Rāmāyaṇa. Rāma killed the *Rākṣasa* Rāvaṇa, King of Laṅkā.

Bala-Rama, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa,is the **eighth** *avatāra.* He appears to have little claim to divinity. Nothing appears to be recorded to his credit except some eccentric and drunken feats. His special symbol is the plough with which he appears to have opened a canal from the Jumna river.

The **ninth** incarnation, **Buddha,** is a remarkable example of the capacity for assimilation, characteristic of the Brahmanical revival during the period of the Gupta supremacy.

Kalki, the **tenth** incarnation, has not yet manifested himself on earth. In this incarnation Viṣṇu will be born as the son of a Brahmin and will exterminate the infidels.

Of the ten incarnations, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha and Vāmana are the three whose sculptures are the most numerous. Below will be found described two unique images of Matsya and Paraśu-Rāma also. The remaining *avatāras,* are very seldom sculpturally represented in Bengal. Images of Buddha are, of course, fairly numerous, but these can hardly be regarded as representations of an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ d}{1}$ Image of the Boar Incarnation in black stone, 3′9″×2′3″. Indian images are generally represented in passive form, and wanting in 'action'. But that the artists could

summon up 'action' when necessary, is evident from the images of the Boar and the Man-lion incarnations of Viṣṇu, as well as from the images of some active forms of Śiva and Śakti.

The Primeval Boar is represented in this image as a powerful man with the face of a boar, with four hands, and striding to the left. Clock-wise, he has the Discus, Club, Lotus and Conch-shell in his four hands. The upper left hand, which was upraised and bent at the elbow, is lost, with the figure of the Earth which rested upon it. The upper-right hand is also damaged. The whole of the upper portion of the slab is lost. Lakṣmī is represented standing to the right of the god, while Sarasvatī stands to the left. The *Nāga* Śeṣa is represented holding to the right foot of the god, while his wife clings to the left foot. Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, is shown as kneeling beneath the lotus seat of the god. To the right of Garuḍa, within circles formed by ornamental foliage, the figure of a bearded man with a wreath in his hands represents the donor of the image. The god Gaṇeśa, with his elephant's trunk, is represented in the next circle. In the two circles to the left of Garuḍa, there are representations of a dwarfish Gaṇa and of a female figure with offerings in her hands,—perhaps the donor's wife.

Discovered at Dālālpāḍā, Rāmpāl, Dt. Dacca, and presented by Rai Rameśa Chandra Guha Bahadur.

$3\frac{\text{A. (i) d.}}{2}$ Image of the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu in black stone, 2′4″×1′2″.

The Matsya-Purāṇa gives the following directions for the construction of an image of Nṛsiṁha. (Matsya-Purāṇa, Ch. 260). "Narasiṁha is to be made eight-armed, terrible, with a lion's head, his lips and eyes agape like an angry lion and his mane standing on end. He is to be shown as tearing open the entrails of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, who should be



(a) Narasiṁha 3. A. (i) d. 2



(b) Narasiṁha 3. A. (i) d. [6]



(c) Narasiṁha 3. A. (i) d. [8]



(d) Narasiṁha 3. A. (i) d.

Bahadur. Images of the Fish Incarnation are extremely rare. Viṣṇu is represented here as half fish, half man, with four hands, holding clock-wise the *Padma*, *Chakra*, *Gadā* and *Śaṅkha*. Lakṣmī, with a fruit in her right hand and a lotus in her left, stands to the right of the god. Sarasvatī stands on his left, playing on her *Vīṇā*. *Kṛttimukha* at the top. A very fine piece of sculpture.

2. A finely preserved image of the Boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu in black stone, about 3′ high, obtained from the *Deul* at Rāṇīhāṭi and now preserved close by, a mile to the east, in the house of Babu Indra Chandra Dāsa-Gupta at Āuṭśāhī, P. S. Taṅgibāḍī, Dt. Dacca. The figure of a small boar digging up the Earth with his tusks is depicted below, between the striding legs of the god.

3. Image of the Boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu in black stone, 36″, discovered at Jorādeul and now fastened to Rameśa Babu's Kālī temple at Vajrayoginī.

4. A beautiful image of the Boar Incarnation in black stone, about 2′ 8″; worshipped at the Vaiṣṇava monastery, called the *Ākṛā* of Kānāilāl, at Kātlāpur, a mile to the south of Sābhār, Dt. Dacca. The deity holds clockwise *Gadā*, *Chakra*, *Padma* and *Śaṅkha* in his four hands. On the ground level, between the striding legs of the deity, a tiny boar is represented digging up the Earth. The figure of the earth-goddess, kneeling and praying with folded hands, is represented on the upper left elbow of the deity. Two *Nāgas* with human heads are represented intertwined beneath the feet of the god, their heads emerging on either side. The one on the right holds the stem of a lotus, which rises up and ends in a magnificent flower over the head of the god.

5. Image of Nṛsiṁha, discovered at Mahākālī, and now fastened to the wall of Rameśa Babu's Kālī temple at Vajrayoginī.



Paraśu-Rama [illegible]



Fish Incarnation [illegible]

6—8. These images of Nṛsiṁha are preserved at the Vaiṣṇava monastery at Ābdullāpur near Mirkādim, Dt. Dacca. All of them have six hands. They were obtained from different places in Vikrampur. The two natural hands tear open the abdomen of Hiraṇyakaśipu ; the two lower hands hold him fast by his legs and hair ; the upper right hand is raised in the *Abhaya* pose and the upper left hand is in the *Tarjjanī Mudrā*.

9. Image of Nṛsiṁha in black stone, 3′×1′8″, discovered from the small tank to the south-west of the market at Taṅgibāḍī, Dt. Dacca, and now worshipped there under a Banyan tree. It has six hands, like the preceding three, and the *Umbrella* is depicted at the top.

10. Image of Vāmana, in black stone, 3′ high. *Kṛttimukha* at the top. Well-preserved. In the Vaiṣṇava monastery at Ābdullāpur.

11. A splendid image of Vāmana in black stone, about 6′ in height, fastened to the inner wall of the monastery at Ābdullāpur. It was procured from the ruins of Rāmpāl and is altogether a sumptuous piece of sculpture, lavishly ornate. The pedestal contains the letters *namovā* in the Bengali script of the 11—12th century A. D., perhaps the beginning of *Namo vāmanāya*, *i. e.* Salutation to Vāmana. *Kṛttimukha*.

12. Image of Paraśu-Rāma from the Rāṇīhāṭi *Deul* preserved at the house of Indra Babu at Āuṭśāhī. It is a very plain image. The god stands in the *Tribhaṅga* pose and has, clock-wise, the Padma, Paraśu (axe), Śaṅkha and Chakra in his four hands. Garuḍa is depicted kneeling at the bottom.

3. A. (i) e. GARUDA.

Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, is usually represented as a powerfully built man with two wings and having some

bird-like features in the face, such as an aquiline nose and round eyes. The story of Garuḍa is given in detail in the first book of the *Mahābhārata*.

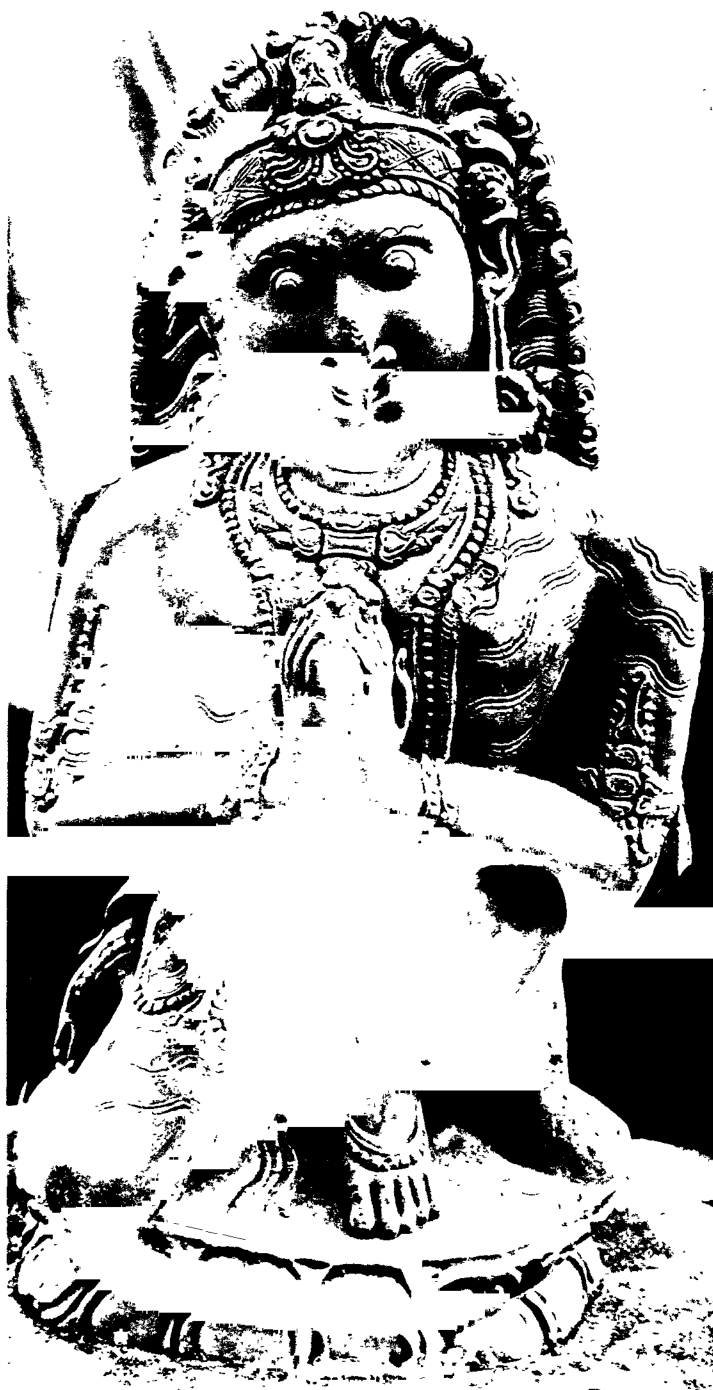
He was the son of Kaśyapa (*supra*, p. 76) by Vinatā, daughter of Dakṣa. Vinatā had forfeited her liberty to Kadru, another wife of Kaśyapa and mother of the serpents, in a wager, and was serving as the slave of Kadru when Garuḍa was born. The serpents promised her freedom if Garuḍa could obtain ambrosia for them from heaven. In achieving this feat, Garuḍa had, on one occasion, to fly with a great load which gave him his name,—*guru* = heavy, *uḍa* = flying. When, after a severe fight with the gods, he was carrying away the ambrosia, he met Viṣṇu on the way, who was highly pleased with Garuḍa for his self-restraint in not tasting the ambrosia, now within his grasp. Mutual boons followed. Garuḍa received eternal life even without tasting ambrosia, and a place above Viṣṇu by being placed on standards; and Viṣṇu obtained him as his vehicle.

Garutmat and Suparṇa, the other two well-known names of Garuḍa, already appear in the Ṛg-Veda and the story of the capture of *amṛta* or ambrosia by Garuḍa is also derived from Vaidic sources.*

In sculpture, Garuḍa is conventionally represented as kneeling on the right knee and with the hands folded in adoration. Erection of pillars in honour of Viṣṇu and placing on their top figures of Garuḍa, is a very old custom among the Vaiṣṇavas of India. The famous pillar of Heliodoros at Besnagar, (*circa*, 160 B. C.) is a pillar of this kind. The Meherauli iron pillar with an inscription of King Chandra (*circa*, 315 A. D.) is another famous standard sacred to Viṣṇu. These pillars were erected in front of temples of Viṣṇu and

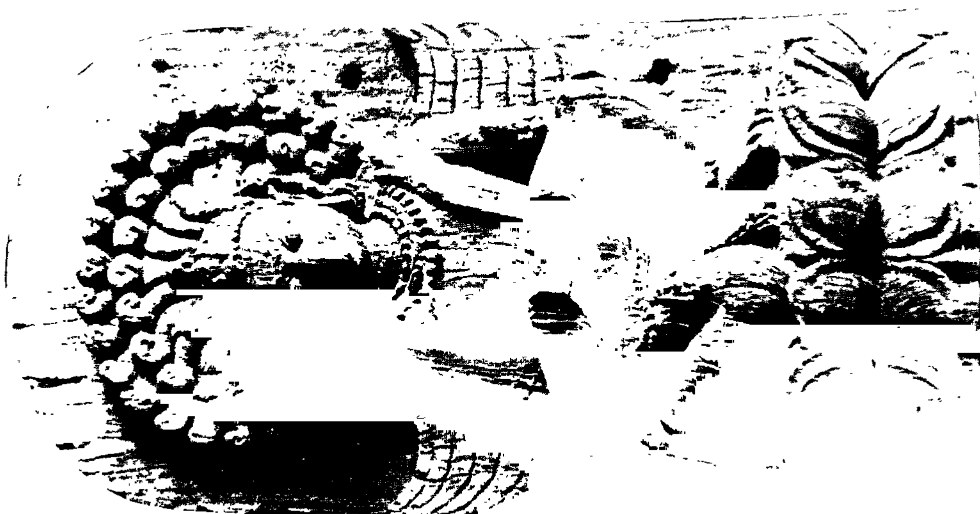
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* Macdonell: Vedic Mythology. P. 39, 152



Garuḍa [illegible]

PLATE XLI.



Garuda 3-A (i) e 1



Garuda 3-A (i) e 2 (side view)

the figure of Garuḍa was placed on their top, facing the image of Viṣṇu inside the temple and looking at him in adoration.*

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ e}{1.}$ A WOODEN image of Garuḍa, 20″×10″, of very good workmanship. The folded hands are broken away and lost. Otherwise the image is very well-preserved, considering the fact that it was buried for several centuries under loam. The locks of Garuḍa are spread in the form of a halo behind his head, forming a sort of background for it. The face of Garuḍa has a cheerful expression.

From the Raghurāmpur excavation.

$\frac{3\ A.\ (i)\ e}{2.}$ A very beautiful and *double-sided* image of Garuḍa in black stone, about 30″ high. A remarkably vigorous piece of sculpture. The same history and the same donor as $\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a}{12}$ *supra*, p. 81.

[I. An image of Garuḍa in black stone, about 20″ in height, preserved at the house of Babu Śītala Chandra Bhaṭṭāchāryya at Pañchasār, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca]

3. A. (ii). SAIVA IMAGES.

The descent of Śiva from Vaidic Rudra has already been alluded to. Śaivism flourished vigorously in Eastern India and became the cult of some ruling families. Śaśāṅka, the contemporary of Harṣavardhana, was a devout Śaiva. In later times, the Senas adopted the cult, and the figure of the ten-armed

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* দেব্যাগারে মহাসিংহং বৃষভং শঙ্করালয়ে।
গরুড়ং কৈশবে গেহে প্রদদ্যাৎ সাধকোত্তমঃ॥

The superior devotee should present (image of) great lion to the temple of Devi (Sakti), bull to the temple of Sankara (Siva) and Garuda to the temple of Kesava (Visnu).

Mahanirvana Tantra, XIII, 32.

Sadāśiva was accepted as the royal seal. All the copper-plate grants of the Senas are sealed with the Sadāśiva seal. There are some excellent images of Sadāśiva in the Museum of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* of Calcutta and in that of the *Varendra Research Society* at Rajsahi.

A very considerable portion of the Tāntric literature on Śaivism may be said to be of East Indian growth. The Tantras created a complicated Śaiva iconography, conceiving many different forms of Śiva. The sculptors were not slow to follow up the conceptions with lithic representations. Images of almost all of the numerous forms of Śiva, more numerous than that of any other god, are thus to be met with in Bengal. The few described below, though by no means an exhaustive catalogue of the forms of Śiva, will serve to give an idea of the richness in variety of the Śaiva images in Bengal.

3. A. (ii) a. NATARAJA.

Naṭarāja means the Supreme Dancer. Images of Naṭarāja Śiva are extremely interesting productions of Indian art. Śiva is represented in these images as dancing the *Tāṇḍava* dance. The way in which the grace and the rhythm of the dance are expressed in some of the images, is quite striking, and has won deserved admiration from connoisseurs.

Southern India is particularly rich in the images of the Dancing Śiva. In Northern India, these images are scarcely met with. Many images of the Dancing Śiva have, however, been discovered from the South-Eastern Districts of Bengal. How Bengal, especially the present Dacca and the Tippera District, came to share this peculiarity with Southern India, is an interesting problem of history. On the pedestal of an image of Naṭarāja Śiva, the name of the god has been found inscribed as Nartteśvara. It is interesting to note that in the suburbs



Naṭarāja $\frac{3\ A\ (ii)\ a}{1}$

of ancient Rāmpāl, several images of Naṭarāja Śiva have been discovered and a village in the vicinity is still called Nāṭeśvar. An image of Naṭarāja Śiva is still worshipped in a village called Nāṭghar in the Tippera District.

In Matsya-purāṇa, Chapter 259, we find detailed description of how images of Naṭarāja should be made. The text and the translation of the *Vaṅgavāsī* edition, however, appear to be extremely confused. The following details may be gathered with some amount of precision. The god may have four, eight, ten or sixteen arms. When the god is represented with ten arms, the right hands should carry the Sword, Lance, Staff, Trident, and *Vara* and the left hands, the Shield, Skull-cup, Snake, Rosary and *Khaṭvāṅga* (a staff marked with a death's head). When the god is to have sixteen hands, the additional hands should have the following weapons in addition to the weapons of the ten-armed image, leaving out probably the *Vara-Mudrā* and the Rosary :— Śaṅkha, Chakra, Gadā, Viṣṇu's Bow, Bell, Axe, Viṣṇu's arrow. All the gods and created beings should be represented as praying fervently around him and prostrating themselves before the august Manifestation. The skeleton Ṛṣi Bhṛṅgī, with other ghosts, should be dancing in unison.

Images of Naṭarāja Śiva hitherto found in the Dacca and Tippera Districts may be divided into two classes. One class has ten arms with weapons corresponding to those that are given to the ten-armed god in the Matsya-purāṇa. The two normal arms express the rhythm of the dance.

Images of the other class have twelve arms, prominent among which are three pairs. The first pair plays on a *vīṇā* held across the breast. These are the two normal hands. The second pair holds the *Nāga* Śeṣa by its two ends like a canopy over the head. The third pair is folded in the *Añjali* pose over the *Jaṭā* crest of the god, as if clapping and

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keeping time with the dance. The rest of the hands hold different Śaiva weapons. Both the classes have the Bull beneath the feet of the god, dancing in unison in ecstatic joy.

This last feature distinguishes the North Indian images from those of Southern India, where the place of the Bull is usually taken by the Apasmāra Puruṣa, a demon. The majority of the South Indian images, it may also be noted, have only four arms. The Bull is seen lurking behind the god in a sixteen-armed image of Naṭarāja at the entrance of Cave No. 1 of Bādāmi (6th century A. D.) in the Bombay Presidency and the serpent lifted over the head is also to be seen in this image. But nowhere does the sculptor portray with such admirable skill the ecstasy of the Bull beneath the feet of the god, as in the images of the Dacca and Tippera Districts.

I have not been able to find a *Dhyāna* for the B class of Naṭarāja images, *i. e.* those with the lyre.

$\frac{3. A (ii) a}{1}$. Image of Naṭarāja Śiva in black stone, 2′9″ × 2′1″. The image belongs to A Class, as classified above. It is an admirable piece of sculpture. The *Nāgaloka* or the nether region is depicted at the bottom, where a number of *Nāgas* (half man, half serpent) as well as some *Gaṇas* are seen with folded hands, praying. Above this, on the right and the left sides, the two wives of Śiva, viz :—Gaṅgā and Gaurī are depicted, respectively on a dolphin and a lion. Between them, the Bull is shown dancing in ecstatic joy and looking wistfully up at the face of its Lord, who is deep in the joys of *Tāṇḍava* on its back. All the principal gods can be recognised congregating above. The god has ten arms. The Sword, the Lance, the Staff or Club, and the Trident can be easily recognised in the four right hands of the god. In the left hands, the Shield and the Noose can be recognised. The other two hands are

PLATE XLIII.



Naṭarāja $\frac{3.\ A\ (ii)\ a}{2}$

broken. The two normal hands that beautifully depicted the rhythm of the dance, are also unfortunately damaged. The god has a serpent as his sacred thread. The human bust of this serpent is shown on the left shoulder of the god, keeping time with two hands.

The grace of the principal figure and the ecstacy of the bull make the piece a first rate work of Indian Art.

Found at Śaṅkarbandha, close on the south of Rāmpāl, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca. Presented by Babu Jagadīśa Kumāra Majumdār.

$\frac{3\ A.\ (ii)\ a}{2}$. Image of Naṭarāja in black stone, 3′1″×1′7″. In the previous image, the normal right hand is the *Gaja-hasta*, i. e. the hand spread gracefully across the body like an elephant's trunk. But in this image, the normal left hand is in the *Gaja-hasta* pose. It is an image of the 'A' class having ten arms. The weapons (Sword), Thunder-bolt, Trident, and Staff in the right hands, and Shield, *Khaṭvāṅga*, Snake and Skull in the left hands, can be recognised. The congregation of gods and other creatures is remarkable. Gaṅgā and Gaurī on the right and the left, the *Nāgas*, *Gaṇas* and *Kinnaras* at the bottom are also present. The rhythm of the dance is well-expressed by the balanced, yet undulating body and can be aptly likened to a powerful flame rising tremulously from the ground. The ecstasy of the Bull is also remarkable. The whole of the upper portion, above the head of the god, is broken away and lost.

The find-place of the image is noteworthy. It was found in a small tank situated close on the south of the southern moat of the *Ballāla Bāḍī* at Rāmpāl, Dt. Dacca. Ballāla Bāḍī marks the site of the palace of the Sena Kings of Bengal. It is a square area, 750′×750′, surrounded by a moat 200′ broad. The Senas were renowned Śaivas and Ballāla Sena's

Naihāṭi plate (E. I. XIV P. 156) opens with an invocation of Śiva in *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava* (the evening dance). It is probable that this image graced a temple erected in honour of Naṭarāja by one of the Sena Kings on the precincts of their palace.

Presented by Rai Rameśa Chandra Guha Bahadur.

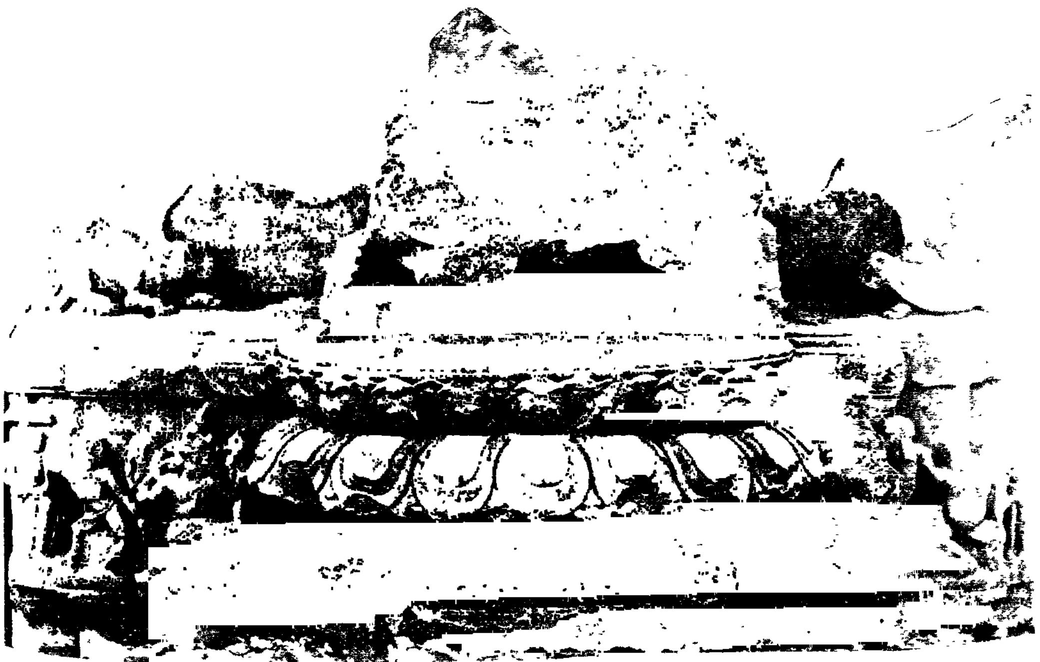
$\frac{\text{3. A. (ii) a}}{3}$. Image of Naṭarāja Śiva in black stone. The image was originally a big one ; but here only a portion measuring 2′×1′6″ is preserved. The image belongs to B. class and had 12 arms. All the right arms are gone, except the one that forms the *Añjali* pose above the crest of the god with a left hand. All portions below the knee are gone. Two of the left hands have disappeared. Of the remaining hands, one goes up to form the *Añjali* pose with the only right hand that remains. Another holds the tail of the snake that formed a canopy over the head. The other two have the Skull and the Trident respectively. The stump of the hand that held one end of the *Vīṇā* is also preserved. A figure of Kārttikeya is preserved in the left upper corner. A scratch across the breast shows where the lyre was. A garland of skulls encircles the *Jaṭāmukuṭa*.

The image was discovered from a tank at Bhārellā, P. S. Baḍkāmtā, Dt. Tippera, along with several other images, of which the image of goddess Chaṇḍī sitting with one leg pendant on the back of a lion is noteworthy. It is reported that several more images are still lying in the bed of the tank. The image of Naṭarāja was entire when reclaimed from the tank, but afterwards it was broken to pieces by a fanatic *fakir*. The pedestal, which is inscribed with a long inscription, is now preserved in the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat*. The inscription designates the god as *Nartteśvara*, i. e. the Dancing Lord, and states that the image was consecrated in the 18th year of king Layaha Chandra Deva by one Bhābu Deva, son of Kusuma

Plate XLIV.



Naṭarāja $\frac{3\ A.\ (ii)\ a.}{4}$



Naṭarāja $\frac{3\ A.\ (ii)\ a.}{4}$

Deva, who is designated as the ruler of Karmmānta, probably the modern Baḍ-kāmtā, about four miles south-west of the locality. Layaha Chandra's place in history is not exactly known, but he appears to have been on the throne of Arrakan in the latter part of the 10th century A. D. (For other details —*vide* the writer's papers in the J. A. S. B., March, 1914 and January, 1915—"A forgotten kingdom of East Bengal," "The Bhārellā Narttes̈vara image inscription").

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (ii)\ a}{4}$. The lower part of an image of Naṭarāja in black stone. The image must have been not less than six feet in height when entire. The portion that remains, measures $4'$ in breadth and contains the Bull and the vehicles of the two wives of S̈iva with a pair of feet on the back of each, and some other minor figures below them. It should be noted that dolphin, the vehicle of Gaṅgā, is depicted to the proper right of the Bull. This shows that the right side of the god was occupied by Gaṅgā on her dolphin and not by Gaurī on her lion, as in the foregoing images of Naṭarāja. The goddess that stood on the proper left of Naṭarāja had a tortoise as her vehicle. The river goddess Yamunā (Agni-purāṇa, Ch. 50, P. 102) and the goddess Earth, both have the tortoise as their vehicle. The former one probably finds place here as the co-wife of Gaṅgā.

Discovered at the *Deul* at Churāin, about three miles south of Rāmpāl. The silver image of Viṣṇu (*supra*, $\frac{3.\ A.\ (i)\ a}{(1)}$), now in the Indian Museum, was also found from a ditch near this *Deul* at Churāin.

[1. Image of Naṭarāja of 'B' class, in black stone, about $20''$ high, found at Kalikāl, P. S. Lauhajang, Dt. Dacca. Now in the Rajsahi Museum.

2. Image of Naṭarāja of 'B' class, in black stone, about $4'6''$ in height, worshipped at Nāṭghar, in the Brāhmaṇbāriā Sub-

Division of the Tippera District. The image was found in the village about 70 years ago and is being worshipped since then. The two normal hands hold the *Vīṇā*, two hands are clasped over the head in *Añjali* pose and another two make a canopy over the head with the body of Śeṣa *Nāga*, catching him by the head and the tail. The remaining three right hands have the Rosary, the Trident and the Kettle-drum ; of the three left hands the lowermost holds a snake, but the attributes of the other two are unfortunately not clear. The upper one looks like a *Khaṭvāṅga*. The image, however, is in a perfect state of preservation.

3. Image of Naṭarāja Śiva of 'B' class, in black stone, about 3′4″ in height. The three pairs of hands, as usual, have the lyre, the *Nāga* and the *Añjali* pose. The remaining three right hands hold the Rosary, the *abhaya* (protection) and the *vara* (boon). The three left hands have the Trident, the Skull and the Pot. The ecstatic bull is very well executed. The image is perfectly preserved and is altogether a commendable piece of sculpture. Found at the *deul* of Raṇīhāṭī and now preserved at Indra Babu's house at Outśāhi, Dt. Dacca.]

3 A. (ii) b. NILAKANTHA.

There is no image of Nīlakaṇṭha in the Dacca Museum. The one described below was discovered at Kāśīpur, a few miles west of Bariśāl, and is still worshipped there.

[1. Image of Nīlakaṇṭha Śiva in black stone, about 4′4″ in height. The god is commonly known as the Virupākṣa of Kāśīpur, but no *Dhyāna* of Virupākṣa appears to agree with this image. According to *Sāradātilaka Tantra*, this image should be identified as an image of Nīlakaṇṭha Śiva. *Sāradātilaka* (Chapter 19, R. M. Chatterji's edition) invokes Nīlakaṇṭha thus :—



Naṭarāja 3 A. (n) a. [1]



Naṭarāja 3 A. (n) a. [2]

PLATE XLVI.



Nīlakaṇṭha.

বালার্কাযুততেজসং ধৃতজটাজূটেন্দুখণ্ডোজ্জ্বলং
নাগেন্দ্রৈঃ কৃতভূষণৈর্জ্জপবটীশূলং কপালং করৈঃ।
খট্বাঙ্গং দধতং ত্রিনেত্রবিলসৎ পঞ্চাননং সুন্দরং
ব্যাঘ্রত্বক্‌পরিধানমব্জনিলয়ং শ্রীনীলকণ্ঠং ভজে ॥

সারদাতিলক তন্ত্র, ১৯শ পটল।

Adoration be to Nīlakaṇṭha, who shines like myriads of rising suns, who wears matted locks and the resplendent crescent, who holds by his four hands ornamented with snakes the Rosary, the Trident, the Ŝkull and the Khaṭvāṅga, who has five heads each adorned with three eyes, who is beautiful to look at, a tiger's skin is whose garment and who stands on a lotus.

This image, of course, has not the five heads, but the attributes of the hands, which are the principal indexes in identifying an image, agree with the Dhyāna. As regards the epithet beautiful (সুন্দরং), the image certainly has a most pleasing smile on its face, which does great credit to the artist.

The following additional features in the image can be noticed. The god has an umbrella at the top, below which Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, the two sons ef the god, are represented. Gaṅgā and Gaurī, his two wives, stand on either side, the former on the right on a dolphin, and the latter on the left on a lion. Both have Lotus in their left hands and *Abhaya Mudrā* in their right. Bull, the vehicle of Śiva is crouching at the bottom, looking wistfully up at its Lord. The prominent *Ūrddhva Liṅga*, which is a sure index to the images of Śiva in Bengal, should also be noted.]

3, A. (ii) c. AGHORA.

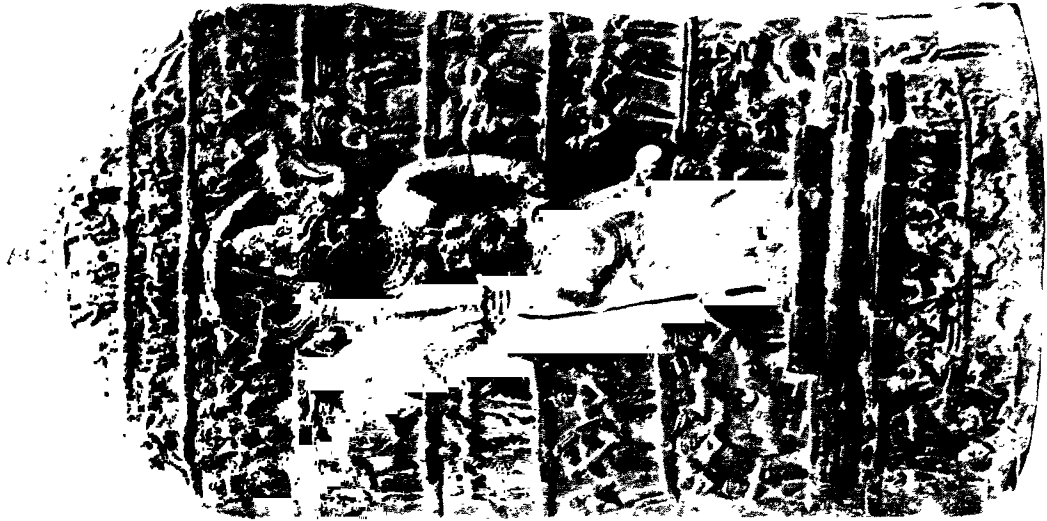
The image identified as that of Aghora in the present section, is an image in black stone, 3′1′×1′8″. The god stands astride in the *Ālīḍha* posture (i. e. striding to the right), but his head has a bend to the left. The pedestal of the god is composed of nine skulls grouped pyramidally in groups of three. To the right of this weird pedestal, two kneeling male and female figures represent, in all probability, the donor and his wife. Further to the right is a jackal feasting on a severed leg. To the left of the pedestal, a vulture is represented similarly employed. The god is treading down three persons, one of whom is placed beneath his left foot, head downwards. The other two lie on their backs, one upon the other, with heads in opposite directions. The upper one is a nude male figure; the one below him is a Rākṣasa, as the protruding tusks show; but it cannot be ascertained whether the figure is male or female. The god is piercing the breast of the upper figure with a trident from one of his right hands.

Between the legs of the god, the bull is represented looking up at its Lord. An attendant stands on either side. Both have a skull in the left and a knife in the right hand. Two flying figures with wreaths in their hands are seen above the head of the god. Right over his head is figured an Umbrella.

The god has eight hands which, clockwise, have the following attributes :—

1. Kettle-drum. 2. Trident, piercing the prostrate figure below. 3. A Quiver full of arrows. 4. Sword upraised, as if to strike. 5. Bell. 6. Shield. 7. Bow. 8. Skull.

The god seems to be laughing horribly and the teeth are to be seen between his parted lips.



(b) Kalyāṇa-Sundara 3 A (ii) d



(a) Aghora. 3 A. (ii) c

The whole image has a curious unfinished look about it. It is not polished, as all other images in black stone invariably are; in many places, the chisel-marks are clearly to be seen.

This unique image of Śiva was found somewhere in Vikrampur and was preserved at the Vaiṣṇava monastery at Ābdullāpur, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca, whence it was obtained for the Dacca Museum. So far as known, no other image like this has yet been discovered in Bengal.

It is without doubt an image of Śiva, as the *Ūrddhva-Liṅga*, the Bull between the feet of the god and the Śaiva weapons and surroundings testify. It has strong resemblance to **Aghora** invoked in the Tantras. Aghora is invoked in the *Prapañchasāra Tantra* thus:—

কালাভ্রাভঃ করাগ্রৈঃ পরশুডমরুকৌ খড়্গখেটৌ চ বাণে-
ষ্বাসৌ শূলং কপালং দধদতিভয়দো ভীষণাস্যস্ত্রিনেত্রঃ।
রক্তাকারাম্বরোঽহিপ্রবরঘটিতগাত্রোঽরিনাগগ্রহাদীন্
খাদন্নিষ্টার্থদায়ী ভবদনভিমতোচ্ছিত্তয়ে স্যাদঘোরঃ॥

প্রপঞ্চসার-তন্ত্রম্। ২৭।১৮

Aghora is like the black clouds. He is very terrible. He has an awful countenance and has three eyes. He holds by his hands—the Axe, Kettle-drum, Sword, Shield, Bow, Arrow, Trident, and Skull. He wears red garments; his body is entwined with superb snakes. He devours (i.e. counteracts the evil influence of) adverse astrolcgical periods and evil planets. He confers boons on his devotees. May he save you from evil!

Prapañchasāra Tantra. 27. 18.
Arthur Avalon's Ed. P. 191.

In *Sāradātilaka Tantra*, chap. 20, Aghora is invoked very much in the same manner and has the same attributes.*

*It should be mentioned here that both the *Saradatilaka* and the *Prapanchasara* have alternative *Dhyanas* for Aghora, which are different from the above *Dhyana*.

So, according to both the Tantras, Aghora should have eight arms, in which he should carry :—

1.	Sword.	5.	Shield.
2.	Arrows.	6.	Bow.
3.	Kettle-drum.	7.	Axe.
4.	Trident.	8.	Skull.

The present image, however, has the Bell in place of the Axe given to the god in both the Tantras. But such slight discrepancy is always met with between *Dhyānas* and actual images. The *Dhyāna* cited above, however, does not give us any clue to the prostrate figures beneath the feet of the god.

Rao Saheb H. Krishna Shastry, B. A., in his interesting book—"South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses", on page 148, describes a terrible form of Śiva called the *Rakṣoghna Mūrtti.* The name suggests an image like the present one, but the description given tells us nothing of the *Rakṣas* that Śiva should be slaying. The god has the figure of Yama instead, beneath his feet. Rakṣoghna, moreover, is a four-armed deity.

3. A. (ii) d. KALYANA-SUNDARA OR VAIVAHIKA MURTTI.

The Vaivāhika images, as the name implies, depict the marriage scene of Śiva and Pārvatī. A very limited number of these images has come to light in Bengal up to the present time. So far as known, the Rajsahi Museum, the Museum of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* at Calcutta and the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat*, each has one image of this class. The Dacca Museum has also one such image in its collections.

The paucity of these images in Bengal has led to their being confused with Umā-Maheśvara images, which depict Śiva, with his wife seated on his left thigh.

The marriage of Śiva and Gaurī is described in many of the Purāṇas, but I have not been able to seek out a Dhyāna describing the couple in this particular pose. These images however, appear to be rather well-known in Southern India. Mr. Rao quotes from no less than four Sanskrit authorities to show how these images are to be constructed. (*vide* Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. II, part I, p. 337—352 and II, App. B. p. 171—178).

Of the four images of this divine couple already noticed, the one in the Dacca Museum and the one in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* hail from the Dacca district and resemble each other in details. Both the pieces are crowded with a host of gods and demigods and both depict the goddess as a developed maiden of about the height of the breast of the god. She stands immediately in front of Śiva, the two feet of the goddess resting partly on the two feet of the god. In Hindu marriage, this pose is adopted preparatory to the *Saptapadī* or the *Pādākramaṇa* observance, which is an important part of the marriage, and one, before the performance of which, no marriage is legally valid. In *Saptapadī*, the bride-groom stands behind the bride and leads her ahead seven steps. Each step is taken leisurely and to the accompaniment of sacred recitations.

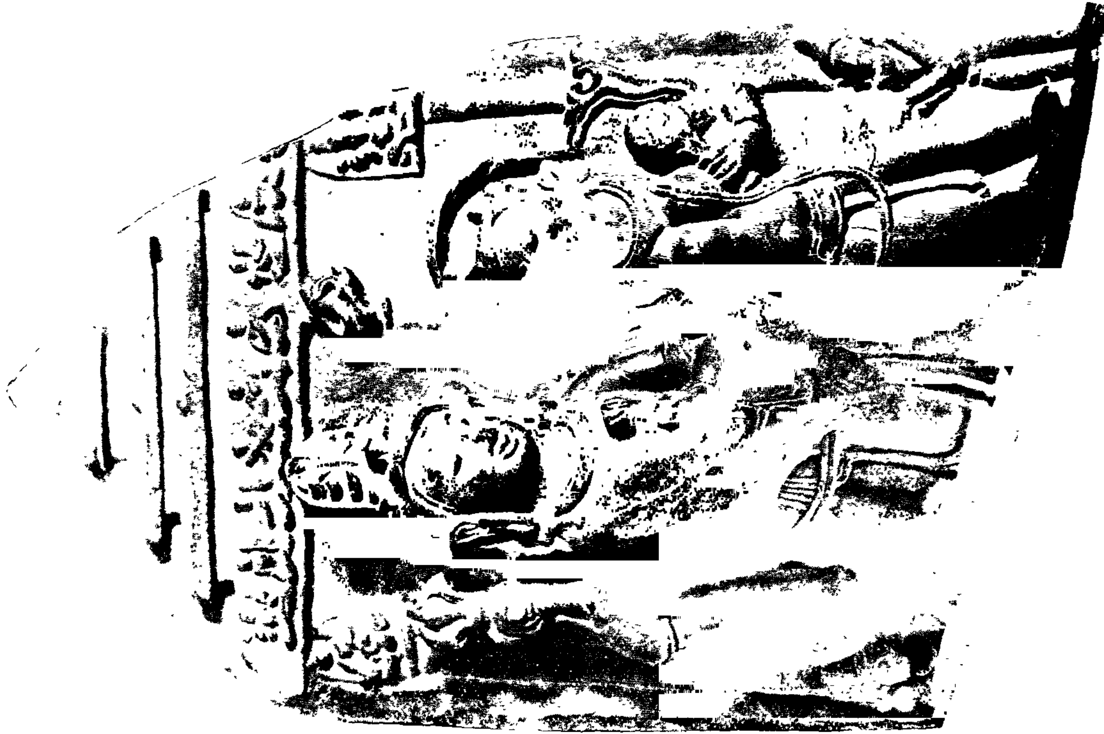
The images in the Rajsahi Museum and the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat* were both discovered in the district of Bogra. The latter was procured by the writer and presented to the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat*. In the image belonging to the Rajsahi Museum also, Gaurī stands in front of the god. But in the *Dacca Pariṣat* image, the goddess stands immediately to the left of the god and the actual scene of 'taking the hand' (*Pāṇi-grahaṇa*, i. e. marrying) is depicted,—the god taking the right hand of the bride in his normal right hand. It may be noticed that in the image in the Rajsahi Museum, the god

has a *Karttarī* (knife) in his right hand,—exactly the weapon that every Hindu bride-groom in Bengal still has to carry, at the time of marriage.

$\frac{3.\ A\ (ii)\ d}{1}$. Vaivāhika-mūrtti in black stone, 2′4″×1′3″. The god Śiva stands in the middle of the stone, with the Trident in his right hand. He carries nothing in his left hand which rests on a raised support, palm inwards. He wears the *Jaṭāmukuṭa*, but is otherwise festively dressed and ornamented. The goddess is represented as a maiden with well-developed bust, of rather short stature, her head reaching only up to the top of the abdomen of the god. She has a casket in her right hand and a metallic round mirror with a handle, in her left. It may be noted that these objects are still carried by Hindu brides at the time of marriage. Śiva's bull is depicted to the right of the couple ; Gaurī's lion is placed to the left.

The piece represents quite a large gathering of supernatural beings, gods and demigods, who have gathered all round the couple to behold the august union.

The whole piece is divided into **11** compartments by thick horizontal lines. Compartment No. **1** contains the Trinity. No. 2. The eight guardians of the quarters. No. 3. The nine planets. No. 4. A group of eight gods. No. 5. A group of six bearded figures. No. 6. A group of six ladies with offerings. No. 7. The conch-shell blower, the flute-player Hayagrīva and a man holding a long-handled umbrella which rises over the head of the couple. These three figures are on the right side. On the left side, in the same compartment, three ladies are depicted. No. 8. Menial attendants, a music party, the bull and the lion. No. 9. Various offerings and presents in seven jars. In the remaining two compartments, two rows of gods are depicted, among whom the amorous couple Umā-Śaṅkara can be recognised. The space



(b) Kalyāṇa-Sundara.
(Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat)
Dacca.



(a) Kalyāṇa-Sundara.
(Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat)
Calcutta.

on either side of these two rows is filled by two dancing figures, two devotees and two gate-keepers at the two extremities.

Found in the village of Śaṅkarbandha, near Rāmpāl, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca.

[1. An image like the one described above, but smaller, found somewhere near Rāmpāl and presented by the writer to the Museum of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* of Calcutta.

2. Vaivāhika-mūrtti in black stone, found at Hili, Dt. Bogra, and presented by the writer to the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat*. The lower part of the image is broken away and lost. On the top of the piece, there is a representation of a three-terraced temple, surmounted by a pinnacle. Below this are the nine planets, and a little further on, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa.

The god has *Jaṭāmukuṭa* and four arms. The upper right hand holds the Trident ; the normal right hand takes the right hand of the goddess (the *Pāṇigrahaṇa* observance of marriage). The god has the Skull and a half-blown lotus in his left hands. The goddess stands to the left of the god. Her right hand is in the grasp of her lord. The left hand holds a circular mirror. An attendant stands on either side.]

3 A. (ii) e. UMALINGANA-MURTTI.

In Śaiva images of this class, the god is ordinarily represented sitting on a lotus with the pendant right leg resting on a lotus or on the back of the Bull placed below. His wife Umā sits on his left thigh. Her left leg hangs out and is placed similarly on a lotus or on the back of her vehicle Lion. The god and the goddess are represented as embracing each other. Of all Śaiva images, this variety is the one most commonly met with in Bengal.

That Śiva in this form has been receiving worship from very ancient times is evident from the invocatory opening *śloka* of the old Sanskrit drama, *Mṛchchhakaṭika*, (the Toy-Cart) where the lightning-like arm of Gaurī placed against the blue neck of Śiva is referred to. The Mādhāinagar plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena (J. A. S. B. 1909. P. 471) and the lost Bhāoāl plate of the same king* open with an invocation of Śiva, where he is said to have his wife Gaurī on his lap, like lightning on the autumn clouds.

Short inscribed labels are sometimes met with on the pedestals of these images. One of these images in the Dacca Museum bears the label of কলিঙ্গা মহেশ্বরঃ (*Kaliṅgā-Maheśvaraḥ* = Maheśvara and his wife) in the Bengali script of the 12th century A. D. Labels such as পার্ব্বতীশঙ্করৌ, বাভ্রবীকায়া, etc, have also been met with on the pedestal of these *Āliṅgana* images.† As the contemporary inscribed labels read different names but denote the same image, so different Tantras and Purānas also give the image different names. The general name of *Āliṅgana* or *Umāliṅgana*-mūrtti, however, appears to suit these images better than any particular name.

The Matsya-Purāṇa gives the best and the most detailed directions as to how these images should be made. From these it appears that the god may have either two or four hands. He should have the Lotus and the Trident in his right hands, and one of his left hands should hold the breast or the breasts of the goddess. The goddess embraced should sit on the left thigh of the god and should be gazing on his face. She may be depicted as sportively touching with her right hand the left shoulder of the god, or his right shoulder or his right side. The left hand should hold either a lotus or a mirror.

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* Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, Vol XXVIII, 1829. P. 709, and Calcutta Government Gazette, May, 1829

† Journal of the Rangpur Sahitya Parisat, 1316 B. S Page 178.

The two maids, Jayā and Vijayā, the two sons of the couple, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, and various other ghosts and supernatural beings should be depicted at suitable places.

(Matsya-Purāṇa, Chapter 260. Page 898)

Paṇḍit Bipina Chandra Kāvyaratna, in an article on Umā-Maheśvara in the *Journal of the Rangpur Sāhitya Pariṣat*, 1316 B. S., P. 178, quotes from another *purāṇa* (which he does not name) to show that the god may also be depicted in the following manner :—

"The upper left hand (of the god) should hold the Trident, the lower one should be placed on the bosom of the goddess. The upper right hand should hold the *Nāgapāśa* or the *Khaṭvāṅga* and the other right hand should sportively touch the chin of the goddess."†

The importance of the above description lies in the fact that images depicting Śiva in the chin-touching attitude are often found in Bengal and this particular trait of the god is given in no other invocation of the Āliṅgana-mūrtti.*

The first chart below shows the differences in the methods recommended by various authorities for depicting the Āliṅgana-mūrtti ; the second chart shows their realisation in some of the images that have come to the writer's notice. If all the Tantras are searched, many other Dhyānas for the image may, it is expected, be discovered. In the first chart, a few only, taken from well-known sources, are analysed and compared.

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† "বামোর্দ্ধে ত্রিশূলং দেব্যাঃ স্তনন্যস্তাপরং করম্।
দক্ষোর্দ্ধে করে নাগপাশং খট্বাঙ্গমেব বা ॥
অপরেণ করাগ্রেণ প্রিয়ায়াশ্চিবুকং মুদা।
স্পৃশন্তং লীলয়া দেবীবক্ত্রালোকনতৎপরং ।"

Read 'দক্ষিণোর্দ্ধে' in the second line, as 'দক্ষোর্দ্ধে' spoils the metre.

* The learned Pandit died in October, 1921, as I learnt from a recent inquiry. I have long searched for the source of the four lines quoted by the Pandit, but all my efforts have hitherto been unavailing.

Chart of Dhyanas and Instructions.

Sources.	Siva.				Gauri.		Remarks.
	Top, right.	Down, right.	Top, left.	Down, left.	Right.	Left.	
Matsya Purana Ch. 260	Sula	Lotus	Not given	Bosom of Gauri	Left shoulder of god, or his right side or shoulder.	Lotus or Mirror	Jaya, Vijaya, Karttikeya, Ganesa, etc. accompany
Purana quoted in J. R. S. P.	Naga-pasa or Kha-tvanga	Chin	Trident	Do	Not given	Not given	...
Saradatilaka Tantra, Ch. 18	Trident	Boon	Skull	Protec-tion	Not given	Red lotus	Quoted in Tantrasara
Saradatilaka Tantra Ch. 18': a different invocation.	Axe	Boon	Trident	Bosom	Left thigh of god	Red lotus	Quoted in Tantrasara and Niban-dha Tantra.
Prapancha-sara T. 26-71	Axe	Boon	Deer	Bosom	Left side of god	Red lotus	...
Prapancha-sara T. 28-3	Snake : Axe	Sword : Arrow	Sula : Fire	Skull : Bow	Being dallied with. No details.		The god has eight hands.

Chart of Attributes of the Alingana-Murtti, as actually found on images.

Images.	Objects in the hands of Siva.				Do. Do. of Gauri.		Remarks.
	Top, right.	Bottom, right.	Top, left.	Bottom, left.	Right.	Left.	
Dacca Museum inscribed Kalinga Mahesvara.	Trident.	Lotus.	Skull	Gauri's breasts	Right shoulder of god.	Mirror.	Accompanied, by Karttikeya, Ganesa and two dancing ghosts, Nandi and Bhrngi.
Dacca Museum No. 2.	"	Chin.	"	"	"	"	...
Dacca Museum No. 3, metal.	Lotus.	...	...	"	Left thigh of god.	"	The god has only two hands.
Image in the Vaisnava monastery at Abdullapur.	Trident.	Chin.	Skull	"	Right shoulder.	"	Like No 1
Image at Belava.	"	"	"	"	"	Lotus.	
Belava No. 2.	Rosary.	"	Trident.	"	Left shoulder.	Broken.	
Rajsahi Museum No. 2.	Bunch of flowers.	"	"	"	Right shoulder.	Mirror.	

From the above charts, it will be evident that no particular *Tantra* or *Purāṇa* was exclusively followed in Bengal, but the attitude in which the god is shown touching Gaurī's chin was the one in which the god was most commonly depicted.

I have not met with any image of this class which may be said to be a realisation of the second *Dhyāna* recorded in Prapañchasāra, 28.3. But, in 1914, a ten-armed Āliṅgana-Mūrtti was illustrated in the now-defunct Bengali Journal *Gṛhastha*, by Babu Haridāsa Pālita. The image is now at Kaligāon, in the Malda District. It has many interesting and new features, the chief being the five faces of the god, the two prostrate human figures beneath the couple and the human figure on a swan (?) beneath the lotus seat.

The six-armed copper image from Keoār described below is also worthy of note.

$\frac{\text{3. A. (ii) e}}{1}$. Aliṅgana-Mūrtti in black stone, 2′7″ × 1′5″. It has a short inscribed label at the base, *viz* : কলিঙ্গামহেস্বরঃ, *i.e.* Maheśvara with his wife. The script is late, of the 11th—12th century A. D. Maheśvara is mis-spelt with স in place of শ. The attributes have already been shown on the chart. An *Umbrella* is shown at the top. Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya are placed on either side of the umbrella. The skeleton Bhṛṅgī is dancing between the Bull and the Lion.

Found in the tank of a Muhammadan cultivator named Ijjatulla, in the village of Jeṭhāgrām, P. S. Nasirnagar, Sub-Division Brāhmaṇbāriā, District Tippera. Presented by Babu Śaratkumāra Guha, B. A.

$\frac{\text{3 A. (ii) e}}{2}$. Aliṅgana-Mūrtti in black stone, 2′2″ × 1′8″. The upper part is broken away and lost, but the principal figures are intact. The god touches the chin of the goddess with the normal right hand, while the normal left hand is placed under both her breasts. The other right hand holds the Trident ;



(a) Āliṅgana-mūrtti and inscription. S. A. (m) c 1



(b) Āliṅgana-mūrtti. S. A. (m) c 3

and a Skull is in the other left. The lower part of the sculpture has been a great deal damaged.

Found along with No. 1 and presented by the same gentleman.

$\frac{3.A.(ii)e}{3}$. Image of Āliṅgana-Mūrtti in *octo-alloy* metal, $5'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. The god has only two arms. In the right hand he holds what appears to be a lotus bud. The left hand is placed on the left breast of Gaurī. The trident of Śiva is seen to the right, planted firmly in the ground.

The goddess has a circular mirror in her left hand. The right is placed on the left thigh of the god (বামোরুন্যস্তপাণিঃ). The Bull and the Lion are depicted at the bottom ; and two pairs of devotees are on either side.

From the Raghurāmpur Excavation.

[I—3. The Āliṅgana images at Abdullāpur and Belāva have already been noticed. No. 2 of Belāva is a very peculiar image. The attribute of Rosary in the hand of the god is unusual ; while the coaxing manner in which Gaurī touches the left shoulder of the god with her right elbow and the charming girlish turn of her face to her lord, are most realistically shown.

4. There is a very good Āliṅgana-Mūrtti in the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat*, procured from Nāṭeśvar, P. S. Taṅgibāḍī, District Dacca.

5. The Āliṅgana-mūrtti catalogued as No. $\frac{c(d)14}{119}$ in the Rajsahi Museum Catalogue, was also found at Nāṭeśvar.

6. A very beautiful Āliṅgana-mūrtti, $25'' \times 15''$, discovered at Sukhavāspur near Rāmpāl, was being worshipped at Sudhārāma Śīla's house in the village. It has now been removed to the village of Ārial, about 5 miles to the west.

The god has four hands. On his left thigh sits his wife Gaurī. He has a half-blown lotus in his upper right hand

while the normal right hand is placed between the breasts of Gaurī in a *mudrā* formed by the touch of the thumb and the ring-finger. The left normal hand embraces the goddess' waist below her left breast The other left hand holds the Trident.

The right hand of the goddess embraces the neck of the god and the left hand holds a lotus by its stem. Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, the Bull, the Lion, and the skeleton Bhṛṅgī, are all present. The image is altogether a beautiful piece of sculpture.

7. Āliṅgana-mūrtti in copper, only 2″ in height. The god has six hands and five faces. Clockwise, his attributes are the *Vara*, Rosary, Arrow, Bow, Skull-cup(?) and Bosom of Gaurī A Trident is placed on a lotus on the right. The right arm of the goddess is placed round the neck of the god, the left holds a full-blown lotus. Discovered in a tank at Keoār, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca and preserved in the house of Babu Mathurā Mohana Chaudhurī of that village.]

3. A. (ii) f. ARDDHANARISVARA.

These images, which represent Śiva and his Śakti merged into one body, half being male and the other half female, are rather rare in Bengal. In view of the fact that the Sena Kings were renowned Śaivas and that the Naihāṭi plate of Ballāla Sena opens with an invocation of the dancing Arddhanārīśvara (*supra*, p. 113), it is not unreasonable to expect that more specimens of this form of Śiva will be found in future. Up to now, however, so far as known, only one image of Arddhanārīśvara has been discovered in East Bengal. This image hails from the little village of Pūrāpārā,

PLATE LI.



(b) Alingana-mūrtti at Keoar.



(a) Alingana-murtti.
(Dacca Sāhitya Parisat)

PLATE LII.



Arddha-nārīśvara from Pūrāpāḍā.

situated about 5 miles south-west of Rāmpāl. In the centre of the village, there is a big *Deul*, the ruins of an ancient temple. A pool to the west of the *Deul* is still called Tāmkuṇḍa,* and it was from this *kuṇḍa* that the image was dug up. It is now preserved in the Rajsahi Museum.

It is a conventional image of Arddhanārīśvara. The peculiarity of this image is that it is not in relief, as the majority of the images discovered in Bengal are, but in the round. The illustration will show that the image is of excellent proportions. Unfortunately, it was discovered in a sadly mutilated condition. The image appears to have had only two arms. One arm is broken away at the shoulder and the other at the elbow, and the lower part of the image beneath the knee is altogether missing. The face has also been slightly scratched in places. It appears to have been a very remarkable piece of sculpture, when entire. The contrast of the male and the female halves of the image has been ably shown and the careful observer can readily mark the differences between the right and the left halves, in physiognomy, ornaments and dress.

It is noteworthy that the Pūrāpārā *Deul* and the neighbouring *Deul* at Rāṇīhāṭi, lying about two miles to the east, several images from which have already been noticed, are connected by tradition from time immemorial with Ballāla Sena and one of his queens.

The story of why Śiva and Gaurī merged themselves into one body, is found in Ch. 45 of the Kālikā-purāṇa and in many other Purāṇas. One day, Gaurī's form was reflected on the crystal-like breast of Śiva. The jealous wife mistook the

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* A vessel of copper with raised rims, used in worship for holding flowers, *Bel* leaves, sandal paste, etc. When the worship is finished these used up materials of worship are thrown back into it and removed.

reflection to be another and a more favoured woman and a conjugal rupture ensued. When amiable relations were restored, the goddess expressed a desire to be so united with her lord as to leave no possibility of the recurrence of a feeling of separation. They accordingly, allowed their bodies to be half-fused into each other and thus was created the united Arddhanārīśvara.

In the Matsya-Purāṇa, Chapter 260, the following detailed directions for the construction of an image of Arddhanārīśvara are to be found:—

"The supreme god should have (the left) half like a fair maiden. The male half of the head should have the matted locks adorned by the crescent moon. The female half should have the vermilion spot and the *tilaka*. The right ear should have the (snake) Vāsuki (as its pendant); the left should have the circular ear-ring. The Skull-cup or the Trident in the right hand of the supreme god, the javelin-holder (i. e. Śiva), should be placed above the (level of the) knot of the ear-ring. The left hand should hold the mirror, or, in special cases, the lotus. The left hand should have the bracelet and the armlet and the Sacred Thread (on the left side) should be bedecked with pearls and gems. A swelling breast should be shown on the left, while the right side should be bright (and level). The two halves of the waist should be similarly discriminated. The half *Linga* covered by the tiger's skin should be shown erect. On the left, the descending cloth should be shown with the three waist-bands bedecked with different jewels. The cloth on the right should be engirt with snakes. The right foot should be well-placed over the lotus. The left foot, adorned with anklet, should be placed on a slightly higher level. The toes (of the left foot) should be shown as wearing rings with gems. The (instep of the) foot of Pārvatī should always be shown as painted red with lac solution."

The portions that remain, of the image under discussion, agree almost entirely with the above description.

The Dacca Museum has no image of Arddhanārīśvara in its collections.

3 A. (i) g. VATUKA BHAIRAVA.

"Bhairava should have a flabby belly, round yellow eyes, side tusks and wide nostrils, and should be wearing a garland of skulls. He should be also adorned with snakes as ornaments. Besides these, there should be other ornaments also. The complexion of Bhairava is dark as the rain clouds, and his garment, the elephant's skin. He should have several arms carrying several weapons. He should be represented as frightening Pārvati with a snake."*

The *Sāradātilaka Tantra*, Chap. 20, page 59, (R. M. Chatterji's Edition) gives the *Sāttvika*, *Rājasika* and *Tāmasika Dhyāna* of Vaṭuka. The first is said to prevent unnatural death; the second satisfies all desires ; the third subdues enemies and scares away supernatural beings. The Sāttvika image is to show a god young in appearance, with joyful face, fair hairs, beautiful ornaments, a pleased expression, naked, and carrying in his two hands the Trident and the Staff.

The Rājasika image shows a god like the resplendent sun, adorned with a blood-red garland, with smiling face and wearing the skin of an elephant,—the four hands carrying the Trident, the Skull, the Boon and the Protection.

In the Tāmasika image, the god is to be like a blue mountain, naked, with a garland of Skulls, holding in his eight hands, the Kettle-drum, Goad, Sword, Lasso, Protection, Snake, Bell and Skull. He is to have snakes as ornaments and terrible fangs.

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* Gopinath Rao · Hindu Iconography, Vol. II. Part I. Page 177.

The South Indian Texts give Vaṭuka a dog as vehicle, but there is no mention of the dog in the *Sāradātilaka.*

In actual representations, however, all the details given for Vaṭuka do not always agree. An image of Vaṭuka belonging to the Indian Museum is illustrated by Mr. Rao in his Hindu Iconography. (Vol. I. Pt. I. Pl. XLII. No. 1.) This image bears a general resemblance to the image of Vaṭuka in the Dacca Museum.

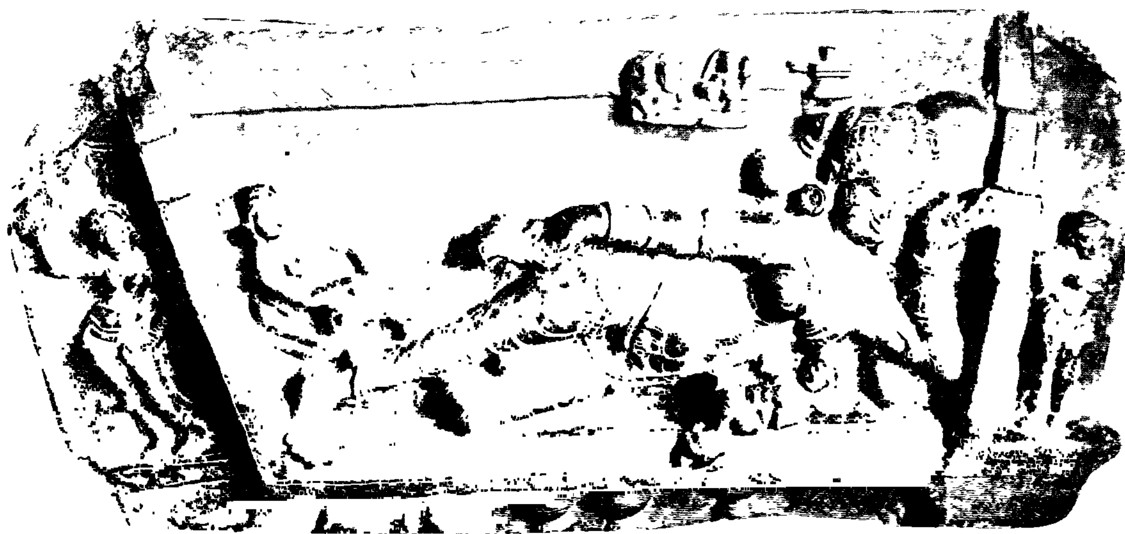
$\frac{3 \text{ A. (ii) g}}{1}$. A miniature burnt clay image of Vaṭuka Bhairava, $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in height. The god has a flabby belly and a long garland of skulls. Flames are coming out from his head. The eyes are round and rolling and the lips are parted in a horrible smile. The god has four arms. The upper right hand holds a Sword. The other right hand is broken. The upper left hand holds a Staff, but as its upper part is broken, we cannot be sure whether it was merely a Staff, or a Trident, or a Khaṭvāṅga. The lower left hand holds a Skull-cup. The figure is not naked and does not wear wooden sandals like the Indian Museum image. The dog is also absent. The smallness of the image is perhaps responsible for some of these omissions.

From the Raghurāmpur excavation.

3 A. (ii) h. SADYOJATA.

The images that I propose to identify as those of Sadyojāta, were so long known as images of 'The Mother and Child', and their exact identification has so long been a puzzle.

These 'Mother and Child' images are rather common in north Bengal, the ancient Varendrī, and the Varendra Research Society's Museum at Rajsahi has no less than eight images described in its Catalogue published in 1914,



(b) Sadyojāta. 3 A. (ii) h / I



(a) Vaṭuka. 3 A. (ii) g / I

The writer often had occasion to travel in the villages of the Bālurghāṭ Sub-Division of the District of Dinajpur in 1914, in the course of which he constantly met with these images in the villages. The image of Mother and Child, now in the Dacca Museum, was obtained by him in the course of one of these excursions,with the kind help of Babu Devendragati Rāya. In Bālurghāṭ itself, the head-quarters of the Bālurghāṭ Sub-Division, there are two images of this class, one under a banyan tree on the west bank of the Ātreyī river, opposite the *Munsiff's* quarters ; and the other, in a deserted place, a little to the south-east of the bazar.This deity appears to have been a favourite one of the inhabitants of the ancient Varendrī. The sculpture of the 'Mother and Child' described in Anderson's Catalogue of the Indian Museum, P. 258, also hails from Varendrī. It was found in the ruins of ancient Gaur.*

Several Madonas are known in the Brahmanical and the Buddhist pantheon, such as Devakī, mother of Kṛṣṇa; Yaśodā, foster-mother of Kṛṣṇa ; Māyā, mother of the Buddha ; Hārītī, the protectress of all children ; Kauśalyā, mother of Rāma ; Pārvvatī, mother of Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, and so on. Should the 'Mother and Child' images be identified with any of these, or does the image represent a different god or goddess ?

Let us see what are the general characteristics of these images. In them, a lady is represented lying down on a couch ; she holds a lotus in her right hand. The left hand rests on the pillow and supports the head on the palm. The legs of the lady are placed, one upon the other and a maid shampoos one of the legs. A child, whose feet rest on a lotus, is shown lying down by the left side of the lady. Some

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* Figured in Mr. R. D. Banerjee's History of Bengal (Bengali) against page 296. The image illustrated by late Dr. Smith in his History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, p. 165, also appears to be an image of this class.

more maids with fans and fly-whisks, are placed outside the couch, ministering to the comforts of the lady. Above the couch, on the wall, are almost invariably placed the gods Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, and a *Liṅga*, while the *Navagrahas* i. e., the Nine Planets, and also other figures are sometimes added. The last features are important as they point to a probable identification. Let us note the presence or absence of these on all the 'Mother and Child' images that have come to our notice.

'Mother and Child' images in the Rajsahi Museum.

1. Liṅga, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and the *Navagrahas*.
2. Liṅga, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya.
3. Liṅga, Nine Planets.
4. Liṅga, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya.
5. Liṅga, Gaṇeśa, and six sitting figures.
6. Liṅga, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Nine Planets, four sitting figures, seven kneeling figures (at the bottom).
7. Liṅga, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa.
8. Liṅga, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa.

Image of the 'Mother and Child' in the Dacca Museum.

9. Liṅga, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa.

Image of the 'Mother and Child' in the Indian Museum.

10. Liṅga, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, Nine Planets.

The presence of Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa as well as of the *Liṅga* unmistakably points to the Śaiva nature of these images. Is it an image of Pārvvatī depicting her as mother of child Gaṇeśa or Kārttikeya ? That possibility is precluded by the presence of the adult Kārttikeya and

Gaṇeśa above on most of the images. The placing of the feet of the child on a lotus indicates that he is an important divinity, perhaps Śiva himself, and we naturally bethink ourselves of the Sadyojāta form of the god. Sadyojāta means 'a child just born', one just arrived from the other world and yet unsullied and untainted by contamination with this world. These images exactly represent the idea conveyed by the word Sadyojāta. Unfortunately, the Dhyānas for Sadyojāta given in the *Tantras* do not describe him as a new-born babe, which is the inherent meaning of the name. But it appears from a passage of the Liṅgapurāṇa that the child aspect of Sadyojāta was also not unknown and the sculptors of Varendrī may have used a *Dhyāna* on those lines describing Sadyojāta as a new-born babe. This *Dhyāna*, however, I have not yet succeeded in finding out.

In Liṅgapurāṇa, chapter IX, (*Vaṅgavāsī* Edition, Bengali Translation, page 17) the following passage occurs :—

"From Brahmā in deep meditation sprang a child with white eyes and red nails, hands and body. When Brahmā saw this Supreme Lord Sadyojāta, he took him on his breast and again sank in deep meditation. The knowledge that this newly born babe was the Supreme Lord then came to him and he worshipped the child."

This does not account for the image of the Lady, by whom the child lies. The presence of Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa suggests that the two main figures may be those of Śiva and Pārvatī, while the presence of the Navagrahas points to the fact that these images may have some connection with the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, as the latter feature is also to be met with in the Kalyāna-Sundara or Vaivāhika images, depicting the marriage of the divine couple. The Brahmapurāṇa, in chapter XXXVIII, Page 177, has the following, in connection with the marriage of Śiva and Pārvvatī :—

"When the divine daughter of the Mountain came with a garland in her hands to the assembly of gods where she was to choose her husband, Śiva, in order to test her, assumed the form of a child and was found sleeping on the lap of the bride. She, perceiving the child and coming to know through meditation that he was the god Śiva himself, accepted him with pleasure. Then the daughter of the Mountain, glad to receive the husband that her heart desired for, returned from the assembly holding the child against her breast."

From the above, we now appear to have arrived at an explanation of these mysterious 'Mother and Child' images of Varendrī. It appears that these sculptures represent Śiva in the form of a babe by the side of Pārvvatī. These images thus appear to be only a variety of the Vaivāhika images.

An image of this class found at Khetlāl in the Bogra Dt., now in the Rajsahi Museum, has a short inscription towards the top. This inscribed image has been noticed by Cunningham in vol. XV. of his Archaeological Survey Reports, where he reads the inscription as *Vansonigralatima* and fails to give any explanation of it.

As these short inscriptions are most often labels recording the name of the image or that of the donor, or both, a satisfactory reading of the inscription on the image from Khetlāl is worth an attempt.

The first two letters are undoubtedly *vaṁ* and *so*. Cunningham read the third letter as *ni*. If it is to be read as *ni*, it must be read as *nī*, i. e., *na* with a long *ī*. But the loop above *na* is hardly pronounced enough to authorise us to read it as a long *ī*. It is certainly better to read the letter as *nā*.

The next letter is a puzzling one. Cunningham reads it as *gra*, but he ignores the very prominent and complete, but tiny, circle hanging from the upper end of the hooked perpendicular line. It is possible to read this letter only as an ill-

formed *tha*. It appears to have resemblance to no other letter in the alphabet.

The next letter is clearly *la* and Cunningham also takes it as *la*. But he ignores the tiny loop attached to the end of the perpendicular line. This looks like the vowel mark for *ṛ* or *ū*, but is actually neither, as it does not begin from the end of the perpendicular line. But certainly, such a prominent mark cannot be meaningless. The inscription, shortly to be discussed below, on a 'Mother and Child' image in the Nāhār collection at Calcutta, ends with *pratipa*(*ā*)*litā* and when we have obtained *vaṁsonātha* in the beginning of the present inscription, and the next word is an undoubted *la*, we at once think of the word *lālitā*. It is then only that it is possible to recognise that the loop at the end of the perpendicular line of *la* is definitely not a *ū* but is only a *Kākapada* (√) to signify that something has been left out. When we find that a similar sign appears at the end of the inscription, followed by the vowel mark for *ā*, it becomes clear that the fifth letter is to be read *lā*.

Cunningham reads the last letter as *ma* which is altogether inadmissible. It can at best be read as *a*, but that is also not correct. If it had been *a*, the left arm of the right perpendicular line would have touched the *ta*-like part of *a* further down. The correct reading therefore, appears to be *tā*.

The letter between *lā* and *tā* appears to be a bungled one, but it can easily be recognised as the alternative form of *la* which, with the usual form with wavy loops, is frequently used—sometimes in the same word—in the Deopāḍā stone—inscription of Vijaya Sena. The vowel mark for long *ī* is attached to the letter, thus making it *lī*. The redundant perpendicular line running across the letter, appears to be the result of hesitation on the part of the stone-mason, whether to

attach the long or the short *i* mark to *la*. He began with the perpendicular line for short *i* but finally deciding to attach the mark for long *i*, he ran the loop of *la* beyond the perpendicular line.

The reading brought out by the above discussion is therefore :—

Vaṁsonātha-lālītā.

The correct expression ought to have been *Vaṁśanātha-lālitā.*

But it is idle to expect grammar and spelling from these stone-mason's labels.

The expression means—'The beloved of the Chief of the race.' 'Chief of the race' can only distantly mean Śiva. The result derived from the reading, as far as this inscription is concerned, is therefore unsatisfactory.

It should be kept in mind that these labels recorded the name of the image and were meant to be understood. We have succeeded in deciphering a somewhat intelligible name where Cunningham read a meaningless series of letters, and we should be glad if any one can suggest any better reading. Indeed, it would have been impossible to read this inscription, especially the last word, but for the suggestion derived from the inscription on the image in the Nāhār collection of Calcutta.

The inscription on this image is hardly easier to read! The first 4 letters are clearly the usual *De* [*ya*] *dhammyoya* [*ṁ*]. Then begins the difficulty. It is difficult to determine whether the 5th letter is a *ga* or a *śa*. *Ga* has a circular loop attached to the perpendicular line in the right while the loop of *śa* is very much the same, but broken in the middle by a downward angle. In the present letter, there is hardly any angle in the loop, but the breach at the point of contact would

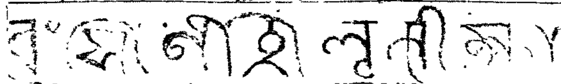
PLATE LIV.





"Mother and Child" and Inscription.
Nāhār collection, Calcutta.





"Mother and Child" and Inscription.
Rajsahi Museum.

suggest that the letter is *śa* and not *ga*. The vowel mark attached to the letter makes it *śū*. This form of marking *ū* is rather old and is seldom met with on this side of 1050 A. D.

In the next letter, the choice lies between *u* and *ḍa*. A comparison with the contemporary letters shows that the hood of *u* goes up almost to touch the *mātrā*, while that of *ḍa* stops in the midway. The latter is the case with the letter under discussion and so we must determine it as *ḍa*. The next letter can be accepted as *bha* without discussion. The next letter, again, is troublesome, and, leaving it aside for the moment, we can read the remaining letters without much difficulty as *pratipalītā* and emend the word to *pratipālitā*. The complete inscription, then, reads as follows :—

De [*ya*] *dhammyo'ya* [*ṁ*] *Śūḍabha* [*] *pratipa* [*ā*] *lītā.*

The letter after *bha* appears to be a bungled one and it is possible to propose different readings for it. But after the determination of all the letters of the inscription, as above, it is not difficult to suggest that the letter after *bha* is *dra* and nothing else.

Thus the name of the image becomes *Śūḍabhadra-prtipālītā*, which, when corrected, should read, *Śūrabhadra-pratipālitā*, i. e. the cherished one of Śūrabhadra. Here again, 'Śūrabhadra' can only distantly refer to Śiva. Śūrabhadra is the equivalent of Vīrabhadra, which is only the name of an emanation from Śiva. But this much appears to be certain that the masons wanted to signify the same image by the two different terms—'*Vaṁśanātha-lālitā* and '*Śūrabhadra-pratipālitā.*'

These two inscriptions, then, do not bring us much nearer a correct identification of these 'Mother and Child' images and we must wait for better inscriptions to turn up in future. Until that time, it is not unfair to denote these Śaiva images

by a name of Śiva, the meaning of which corresponds to the representation.*

$\frac{\text{3. A. (ii) h}}{1}$. Image of Sadyojāta in black stone, 1′8″ × 10″. The image shows a lady reclining on a couch, with her head supported on her left hand which rests on a pillow. In the right hand, she holds a lotus. A baby, with its feet resting on a lotus, lies on the left side of the lady. The legs of the lady are placed in a gracefully bent posture, one over the other; the left leg is being shampooed by a maid standing near the feet of the lady. A maid stands near the head of the lady with a *Chāmara*. The images of Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, and a *Liṅga* are placed above the figure of the lady. Found at Nirmal in the Bālurghāṭ Sub-Division of the Dinajpur District and presented by the writer.

3. A. (ii) i. LINGA.

The worship of the United Śiva and Śakti or the Male and the Female procreative principles of the Universe in the shape of Liṅga on Gaurīpaṭṭa, dates from very ancient times and is the most widely prevalent form of the Śaiva worship. The Dacca Museum has two incomplete samples, both from the Raghurāmpur excavation.

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*Babu Binayatosa Bhattacharyya, M. A., whose forthcoming treatise on Buddhist Iconography has already been referred to, *supra*, p. 36, suggests that the 'Mother and Child' images may be those of Sasthi, who is described in *Dhyanas* (Kubjika Tantram, Chap. 10, p. 14) as residing in the lying-in room (সূতিকা-গৃহবাসিনী)। Rakta-matrka, who appears to be only a variety of Sasthi, has a baby held in her arms, while Sasthi herself, in another *Dhyana*, is said to have a baby on her left lap (বামক্রোড়ার্পিতসুতা). Though a lying-in room may be said to be depicted in these 'Mother and Child' images, the baby is neither in the arms of the lady nor on her left lap. The lady holds a lotus in her right hand, a feature peculiar to Parvvati. The predominant Saiva associations, as well as the readings of the two contemporary labels, are also not, in favour of the identification.

$\frac{3. A. (ii) i}{1}$. Lower part of a Liṅga in black stone, consisting only of the Gaurīpaṭṭa ; 3″ in height.

$\frac{3. A. (ii) i}{2}$. Lower part of a Liṅga in black stone, consisting only of the Gaurīpaṭṭa ; 2″ in height.

[1. Gaurīpaṭṭa of an *octo-alloy* Liṅga discovered along with the inscribed Sarvvāṇī image (*infra*, 3. B. (ii) f) gilt by Queen Prabhāvatī. It bears a short inscription :—

দে ধৰ্ম্মোয়ং আচাৰ্য্য প্ৰথম...........ভদ্ৰস্থ।

—apparently in the same script as used in the inscription on the Sarvvāṇī image.]

3. A. (ii) j. NANDI OR BULL, THE VEHICLE OF SIVA.

Images of Bull used to be placed in the outer halls of temples of Śiva. The merit of presenting images of Bull to temples of Śiva, extolled in the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, has already been referred to, *supra*, p. 109, fn.

$\frac{3. A. (ii) j}{1}$. A massive image of Bull in black stone, about 20 maunds ($\frac{2}{3}$ rds of a ton) in weight and 3′6″×3′ in size. The hump is encircled by two garlands, and an embroidered carpet covers the whole of the back from tail to neck. A band goes round the neck and a tiny bell is suspended from it and hangs by the dew-lap. A front leg is shown bent at the joint, as if the bull is about to rise. There are four holes in the places where the horns and ears should have been. These were probably of metal and have therefore disappeared.

This image was found in 1913 while digging earth for a road at Deobhog, under the Pālaṅg Police Station in the Faridpur District. It was acquired by Government and placed in the Dacca Museum.

3. A. (ii) k. GANESA.

The Divine Couple Śiva and Pārvvatī had two sons, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya. The latter became Commander of the forces of the gods, and the incidents accompaying his birth are celebrated by the immortal poet Kālidāsa in his poem Kumāra-Sambhavaṁ. Gaṇeśa, the elder, is said to have lost his head through some unfortunate accident (the Purāṇas are not unanimous in relating how this happened). An elephant, which was found sleeping with head to the north*, was decapitated and the severed head was fixed by Śiva to the trunk of Gaṇeśa. In order to compensate him for his uncouth appearance, he was made the chief of the *Gaṇas* or the ghost retainers of Śiva. Thus he received the name Gaṇeśa, the lord of the *Gaṇas.* It was also ordained that no worship or religious ceremony would be valid or efficacious, in which Gaṇeśa is not first worshipped. The bestowal of success in any undertaking would also depend on the pleasure of Gaṇeśa.

Images of Gaṇeśa are rather common. He is usually represented with four hands, but he may have six, eight or more hands and faces. The *Sāradātilaka Tantra* gives several *Dhyānas* of Gaṇeśa in the 13th chapter, in some of which he is represented with his wife or Śakti. But none of these *Dyānas* exactly corresponds to the images generally found in Bengal.

In western India, a sect of the Hindus worship Gaṇeśa as the Supreme Deity and are known as the *Gāṇapatyas.*

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* No Hindu will sleep with his head towards the north. It is said to bring misfortune and calamity. This peculiar Hindu custom is now-a-days sought to be explained by alleging that the human body is a magnet with two poles at the head and the feet, as the earth is with its north and south pole. The head and the north pole being poles of the same name, repel each other, which results in exhaustion of the brain



(b) Gaṇeśa, [illegible]



(a) Nandi, [illegible]

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (ii)\ k}{1}$. Image of Gaṇeśa in black stone, about 2′ 3″ in height. The god sits on a lotus seat with one leg pendant. He has four hands. The upper right holds a radish with leaves ; the lower right hand, a rosary ; the upper left, a trident with an axe attached ; and the lower left, some sweets which the god is taking with his trunk. The right tusk is truncated, but the left one is entire. His vehicle, the rat, is seen below.

Found at Dhānukā in the *Baḍadīghi* tank of the Bhaṭṭāchāryyas.—P. S. Pālaṅg, Dt. Faridpur. Presented by Sj. Kālī Mohana Bhaṭṭāchāryya of Dhānukā.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (ii)\ k}{2}$. A beautiful *octo-alloy* image of Gaṇeśa, only 2″ high. The alloy was of superior quality and the image is not much corroded. The god sits in the *Mahārājalīlā* posture over a lotus seat. He has Protection, and a creeper-like thing, (*Kalpa-latā* ?) in his lower and upper right hands respectively, while the left hands have the same attributes as the previous image. The Rat is seen near the feet of the god. The upper portion of the artistic fringe which stood like an arch over the figure, has been broken away and lost. A beautiful image in miniature.

From the Raghurāmpur excavation.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (ii)\ k}{3}$. An *octo-alloy* miniature of Gaṇeśa in the *Mahārājalīlā* posture, very much corroded, about 2″ in height. The lower right hand holds a *modaka* (or citron ?), but the attributes of the remaining hands cannot be distinguished. The base has a knob perforated by two holes, which show that the image was attached to something else.

From the Raghurāmpur excavation.

[1. Image of Gaṇeśa in Black stone about 3′6″ in height. The god stands in the dancing attitude and has six hands. The image is very much mutilated. The stone is broken into two parts a little above the ankles of the god and it has also suffered injuries in other parts.

The hands hold clockwise, 1. The Rosary. 2. (***Taṅka***, or chopper, broken.) 3. The severed Tusk. 4. A plate of Sweets. 5. (Broken.) 6. A creeper (*Kalpa-latā* ?).

Five mangoes in a bunch are sculptured at the top of the piece and the Rat is at the bottom,

Found from the Deul at Rāṇīhāṭī and preserved at Āuṭsāhī, in the house of Indra Babu.

2. A unique five-faced image of Gaṇeśa of the Heramba class, in black stone, about 26″ in height. It was dug up somewhere in the ruins of Rāmpāl and is now preserved at the Vaiṣṇava monastery at Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca.

Heramba is invoked in the *Saradātilāka* thus :—

মুক্তাকাঞ্চননীলকুন্দঘুস্বণ[1]চ্ছায়ৈস্ত্রিনেত্রান্বিতৈ
র্নাগাস্যৈর্হরিবাহনং শশিধরং হেরম্বমর্কপ্রভং।
দৃপ্তং দানমভীতিমোদকরদান্ টঙ্কং শিরোঙ্কাত্মিকাং[2]
পাশং মুদ্গরমঙ্কুশং বিশিখকং দোর্ভির্দধানং ভজে ॥

I adore Heramba who has (five) elephant faces of the shades of pearl, gold, green, white and saffron respectively, each of which has three eyes. He has a lion as vehicle. The moon is on his crest. He shines like the sun. He holds

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1. The Text has ঘস্বণ which gives no meaning. It is evidently a misreading for ঘুস্বণ, meaning saffron.

2. Read শিরাক্ষাত্মিকাং।

To face p. 126

PLATE LVI.



(b) Heramba at Munsiganj.



(a) Gaṇeśa at Autsahi.

in his (ten) hands a Boon, Protection, Sweetmeat, Tusk, Chopper, Rosary, Noose, Club, Goad and Reed.

Sāradātilaka Tantra,
Ch. XII. P. 38.

The present image agrees almost entirely with the *Dhyāna* quoted above. The god is seated in Lalitāsana over a roaring lion. He has five elephant heads, each with three eyes. Clock-wise, his attributes are :—

1. (Broken). 2. Boon. 3. Rosary. 4. Reed. 5. *Taṅka* 6. Tusk. 7. Obscure (looks like a hod of beans, showing in relief the round beans inside) 8. Noose. 9. Protection. 10. Sweet-meat.

If we hold that the broken hand contained the Goad and that the word *mudgaraṁ* (Club) in the text should be read as *mudgakaṁ* (*mudga* pulses), the image exactly corresponds to the *Dhyāna*.

Six miniature images of Gaṇeśa appear round the head of the main image. The *Kṛttimukha* appears at the top.]

3. a. (ii) I. KARTTIKEYA.

The only image of Kārttikeya that has come to the writer's notice in the Dacca and the Chittagong divisions, is preserved in the Vaiṣṇava monastery at Abdullāpur, district Dacca. It is an image in black stone, about 3′ in height. The god sits in the *Mahārājalīlā* posture on the back of his vehicle, the Peacock, the spreading plumage of the bird forming a sort of back-ground for the image.

The god has *Abhaya-Mudrā*, or Protection, in his right hand and *Śakti* (sword) in the left. An umbrella is conspicuous at the top.

3. A. (iii) a. SURYA, THE SUN-GOD.

Images of the sun-god are the most numerous ones found in Eastern Bengal, next only to those of Viṣṇu. In the Dacca Museum, seven images of the Sun-god are to be seen, and scores of these images are known to exist in the villages. The Rajsahi Museum Catalogue describes 27 images of this class. The Indian Museum also has a good number of them in its collection. All these show that after Viṣṇu, the Sun-god was the most popular deity in this country in Pre-Muhammadan days.

Now-a-days, the worship of the Sun-god as an important national festival has disappeared ; but Hindu ladies of the country still observe a *Vrata* in honour of Sūrya, and the *Vrata* of *Māgha-Maṇḍala*, still the most popular *Vrata* which the girls of Eastern Bengal observe for years together before their marriage, is essentially a phase of solar worship*.

* The *Magha-mandala Vrata* is performed by the Hindu girls from their early childhood. It often begins when they are as young as 3 or 4 years of age It has to be continued for five years in succession and is performed every year in winter throughout the month of *Magha.* The girls rise before the sun appears on the horizon and repair to the *ghat* of the nearest tank. They sit by the water's edge with flowers in their hands and begin to chant hymns in vernacular under the guidance of an elderly girl or lady. The hymns are mostly childish doggerel, but not devoid of beautiful sentiments. They describe the childhood of the Sun, his coming of age, his marriage, the birth of his son, &c., and in them are skilfully inter-woven the childish hopes and fears of the girl regarding her future wifehood and home, her fears of rivals and her hankering to be the centre of a prosperous household.

The hymns (a dialogue supposed to take place between the girl and the sun) begin thus :--

Arise, arise, Sun-nie dear, sparkling and fresh ;
Alas I can't, I can't, the mists will not let me.

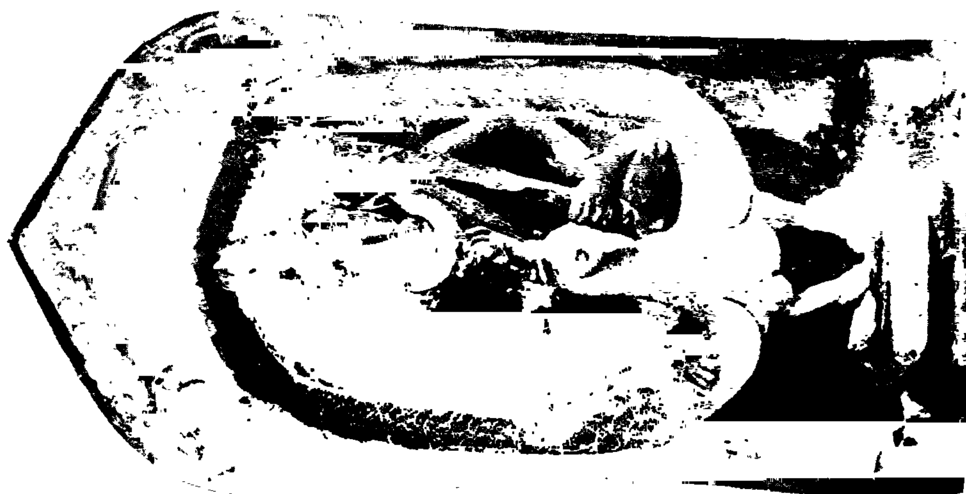
On the inner court-yard of the home, a shallow circle is dug on the ground with a smaller circle to indicate the sun to the east, and a semi-circle for the moon to the west. After the chants are finished the girl returns home and completes the day's observance by the chant of a short hymn, sung while sitting on the edge of the circle. A new circle has to be added each year and each has to be coloured differently by different tinted powders. When the five circles are at last completed, the final observance of eating certain forms of sweetmeat by the girl while sitting on the edge

PLATE LVII.

TO FACE P. 148.



(b) Sūryya. 3 A. (iii) a



(a) Kārttikeya. 3. A. (ii) 1

The images of the Sun-god discovered in Bengal are all more of less alike in their essential features, differing only in minor details. A typical example is described below.

The god stands erect on a lotus pedestal, holding in his two hands two full-blown lotuses which rise just above the shoulders. He is generally represented as smiling, and his head is surrounded by a halo. His body is covered with armour. His waist is encircled by an ornamental girdle and a rolled scarf passes over his waist-cloth. His feet and part of the legs are covered by high boots, a feature not met with in the image of any other Indian deity.

Directly in front of the god stands a miniature female figure, in front of which is represented the legless Aruṇa, the charioteer of the Sun, with a whip in his right hand and the reins of the horses beneath, in his left. The horses drawing the car of the god are seven in number and the car moves on a single wheel.

To the right of the Sun-god, a lady stands with a fly-whisk (sometimes with a lotus) in her right hand and to her right is figured a fat-bellied bearded man carrying pen and inkstand in his hands. Further to the right, a female figure is represented shooting arrows. To the left of the god are represented three similar figures, but the male one has no beard and holds either a staff, or a sword or a *chank-shell* in one of his hands. All these figures, except the two females shooting arrows at the edges, wear boots like the Sun-god. Eleven miniature figures, exactly like the Sun-god, are sometimes represented near the edges of the slab, generally 5 on each side of the god and one over his head.

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of the circles, is performed The residue of sweetmeats is thrown over her head to be scrambled for by the other girls present. Thus the five years' observance comes to a close. The *Vrata* appears to be designed mainly as a discipline in early rising in defiance of the cold weather which is at its height in *Magha*.

Directions for making an image of the Sun are found in many old Sanskrit works, though they do not all agree in the details. The Matsya-purāṇa has the following directions (Chap. 261, p. 902) for the construction of an image of the Sun-god :—

"The Sun-god should be placed on a car with one wheel and seven horses, and he should have lotuses in his two hands. His lustre should be (purplish), like the inside of a lotus. The lotuses in his hands should rise over his shoulders. His body should be covered by armour or a breast-plate, and he should be provided with two cloths. His feet should be invisible, being covered by effulgence. He should have two attendants, viz : Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, with swords in their hands. The god Bidhātā (Disposer, i. e. the god Brahmā) should be placed on one side with a pen in his hands."

On page 31 of the same book, it is laid down that the feet of the Sun-god should, on no account, be conceived or represented, either in his *Dhyāna* or in his picture or in making his image. Any one who infringes this injunction will be smitten with leprosy.

Mr. Gopinath Rao, in his Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I. Part II., on page 87 of the original Sanskrit Texts quoted at the end, cites a passage from the Matsya-purāṇa, which is essentially different from the passage summarised above, which is quoted from the *Vaṅgavāsī* Edition of the Matsya-purāṇa. Unfortunately, he has omitted to record the edition he used or the chapter from which the passage is taken. It appears from this passage that Sūrya should have a fine moustache, four arms and the dress of an inhabitant of the Northern Countries. His body should be covered by a coat of mail. He should have a girdle called Paliyāṅga. He should use sun-beams as bridles to his horses. Piṅgala should stand on his right and Daṇḍī on his left,

and the former should hold a style and a palm-leaf in his hands. These two, also, should be dressed in the Northern fashion. Two of the hands of Sūrya should hold lotuses. The remaining two may hold Shield and Lance, or be placed over the head of the two attendants, Daṇḍī and Piṅgala. The sons of Sūrya, viz : Revanta, Yama, and the two Manus as well as the planets should be shown round Sūrya.

Bṛhat Saṁhitā, (P. 175. *Vaṅgavāsī* edition) has the following instructions for making an image of Sūrya :—

"The Sun should be dressed in the Northern fashion ; he should have two lotuses in his hands and should be surrounded by the heavenly bodies. His body should be protected by armour ; he should have a smiling face, and a halo of light should surround his head."

Mr. N. N. Basu in his 'Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj,' p. 85, quotes from a manuscript called *Viśva-Karmā-Śilpa*, now in his possession, but formerly belonging to the late Rājā Rājendralāla Mitra, which the learned Rājā copied from a manuscript at Tanjore. The text, unfortunately, is confused, but the following details can be gathered with some amount of precision. The Sun-god is to have a car of one wheel and seven horses, driven by a charioteer. His two queens Rājñī and Nikṣubhā, and two attendants Daṇḍī-Skanda, and Piṅgala, the former with a conch-shell or a sword in his hand, are also mentioned. This text gives the figure of Varchcha in addition, who is to be represented as a shining horseman, supported on a lotus.

Similar instructions for making an image of Sūrya are also found in the Bhaviṣya and the Agni-Purāṇa. From Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, which appears to have recorded the most detailed account of the legends connected with the Sun-god and his worship, it appears (Chap. 124. and 130) that the lady standing in front of the Sun is Mahā-śvetā which is a name either

of the goddess Durgā or of Sarasvatī. The names Piṅgala and Daṇḍa or Daṇḍī have also been explained. Piṅgala, who records the good and the bad deeds of people, is the god Agni or Fire, and Daṇḍī is no other than Skanda, the Commander of the army of heaven.

The complicated nature of an image of the Sun-god requires that all the individual items about it should be considered and explained separately. But such a description cannot be properly followed without a recital of the legends recorded in the Purāṇas about the Sun-god and his family. These legends are as old as the Ṛg-Veda, where we find them almost in a fully developed form, and this fact points unmistakably to the early prevalence of solar worship, in a more or less concrete form, among the Aryan races.

"Ten entire hymns of the Ṛg-Veda"—says Professor Macdonell, in his admirable work on Vedic Mythology, (Sec. 14. P. 30)—"may be said to be devoted to the celebration of Sūrya specifically. Since his name designates the orb of the sun as well, Sūrya is the most concrete of the solar deities, his connection with the luminary never being lost sight of."

"He has a car which is drawn by one steed or by an indefinite number of steeds or by mares or by 7 horses (V. 45) or mares called Haritaḥ or by seven swift mares."

Thus we meet with the seven horses of the Sun as early as the 5th book of the Ṛg-Veda. This number is stereotyped in the later Purāṇas, as well as in the traditions which have come down to us to the present day. It is interesting to note that the definite number of seven is given to the horses of the Sun-god after some vacillation in the Ṛg-Veda. In one passage of the Ṛg-Veda, Sūrya is said to be shining from the lap of the Dawn (VII-63) which is thus regarded as his mother; but the relationship of the Dawn to Sūrya as his wife or mistress is a far more prominent idea. Sūrya follows Uṣas, the Dawn,

like a young man a maiden. The Vaidic sages poured forth all the poetry and joy of their heart on this, their most graceful conception, and the unsullied beauty of the Uṣas seems to have moved these primitive poets to their depths.

Uṣas is not, however, the only wife of Sūrya. As Vivasvat, from whom Sūrya can hardly be distinguished in the Ṛg-Veda, and whose name in later literature is taken as equivalent to that of Sūrya, he is the husband of Śaraṇyu, the daughter of the divine artificer Tvaṣṭṛ, who in the Vedas is already more or less identified with Viśvakarmā, a god of similar attributes, and who becomes absolutely identical with the latter in later literature. The double of Śaraṇyu, who is called Chhāyā in later literature, also makes her appearance in the Ṛg-Veda, X—17, 1—2. She is called Savar*ṇ*ā, and her son Manu consistently took the name of Sāvarṇī Manu in later literature.

Sūrya's children are also enumerated. He is the father of the Aśvins, of Yama and of Manu.

Sūrya has seven rays (VIII—6[5]). which are identified by Macdonell with his seven horses. The Wheel of the Sun, which becomes the "One wheel" of the Purāṇas, is also spoken of (IV—28[2] ; V—29[10]). His function as a healer of diseases, for which he is famous in later literature, is also established very early, as he is invoked to drive away sickness, disease, and evil dreams. (X—37[4]).

The priestly family of the Āṅgirasa Brāhmaṇas, to whom the revelation of the 9th book of the Ṛg-Veda is attributed, is said to have caused Sūrya to ascend the sky by their rites (X—62). The Aṅgirasas thus appear to have been associated with the solar worship from the earliest times and it is interesting to find in the later Purāṇas that it was the *Ā*ṅgirasa Bhāradvājas,—the Magas or the Śākadvīpī Brahmins, who were mainly instrumental in spreading the worship of the

Sun-god in India. That the Śākadvīpī Brahmins had not forgotten their heritage, is clear from the inscription of the Śākadvīpī poet Gaṅgādhara of 1059 Śaka = 1137 A. D. (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II. P. 333). There, the Maga Brahmins are said to have sprung from the scrapings of the Sun's body thrown out from the lathe of Viśvakarmā in the process of getting that body remodelled (Infra, P. 157).

Sūrya is an *Āditya*, i. e,, the son of Aditi (wife of Kaśyapa, *vide supra*, p. 75-76). Kaśyapa, who in later literature figures as his father, does not appear in the same capacity in the Ṛg-Veda ; but his attribute as a Prajāpati or creator of beings, is referred to and this easily led to his union in later literature with Aditi, who even in the Ṛg-Veda, is pre-eminently the Universal Mother.

The Ādityas or the sun-gods are stated to be 12 in number in the Purāṇas. But in the Ṛg-Veda, they are a much smaller number. The first total is six, *viz* :—Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa and Aṁśa (Sec. 19, Vedic Mythology). In the last book of the Ṛg-Veda, the number is once stated to be 7 and once 8,—Aditi at first representing to the gods that she has borne only 7 children and afterwards bringing in the eighth, viz : Mārtaṇḍa. The seventh child, according to Prof. Macdonell, is Sūrya.

The Atharva-Veda states that Aditi had eight sons, viz : Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Aṁśa, Dhātṛ, Indra, and Vivasvat. So we have here three new *Ādityas*, viz :—Dhātṛ, Indra and Vivasvat, in addition to the eight we have already referred to. After this, the addition of Viṣṇu brought the total number of *Ādityas* to 12, and these were identified in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa with the 12 months of the year. The Vaidic list of the 12 *Ādityas* seems to have included Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa, Aṁśa, Sūrya, Mārtaṇḍa, Dhātā, Indra, Vivasvat and Viṣṇu. In the later

Purāṇas, this list varied and the following comparative lists of the names of the Ādityas will be interesting study :—

No. of Adityas.	Vaidic literature.	Bhavisya Purana·	Kurmma Purana.	Bhagavata†.	Sabda-Kalpa-Druma.
1	Mitra	Do	Do	Do	Do
2	Aryaman	Do	(a) Do (b) Bhaskara*	Do	Do
3	Bhaga	Do	Do	Do	Do
4	Varuna	Do	Do	Do	Do
5	Daksa	Parjjanya	(a) Parjjanya (b) Ravi	Savita	Savita
6	Amsa	Do	Do	Rudra	Bidhata
7	Surya	Pusa	Pusa	Surya	Pusa
8	Martanda	Tvasta	Do	Do	Do
9	Dhata	Do	Do	Do	Do
10	Indra	Do	Do	Pusa	Do
11	Vivasvat	Do	Do	Do	Do
12	Visnu	Do	Do	Visnu	Urukrama

It will appear from the above table that the original eight enumerated by the Atharva-Veda, and Viṣṇu, a later addition, retained their position as Ādityas all through the Pauranic period, but variations took place as regards the remaining three. It does not appear whence the list of the Ādityas in Śabda-Kalpadruma was compiled ; but this list, as well as the list in the Bhāgavata, have alternative proposals for Aṁśa and the latter for Indra also.

† Quoted in Apte's Sanskrit-English Lexicon.

* On page 188 (*Vangavasi* edition) in enumerating the presiding Adityas of the 12 months, the place of Aryaman is take by Bhaskara.

The legends recorded in the Vedas are considerably modified in the Purāṇas. The legends about the Sun-god and his family are to be found in the Bhaviṣya, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Kūrma, Garuḍa and other Purāṇas. The account of the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa appears to be the most direct descendant of the Vaidic legends. Bhaviṣya gives the name of Visvakarmā's daughter and Sūrya's wife as Sureṇu and cites several variants of the name. Sureṇu, as is easily recognised, is the same as Śaraṇyu, the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ of the Vaidic literature ; and the fact that her original name is remembered only in the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, while all the other Purāṇas give only the variants cited in the Bhaviṣya supports Mr. Pargiter's contention that Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa was the source of all the other Purāṇas.

The story, however, is not exactly the same in all the Purāṇas, but each has slight variation of its own. The following is the main outline of the story. Viśvakarmā had a daughter, Sureṇu, (variously called Rājñī, Saṁjñā, Dyau, Tvaṣtrī, Prabhā and Prajñā and sometimes made into two or more different personalities) who was married to Sūrya, to whom she bore Yama and Manu as well as a daughter Yamunā or Yamī. The burning heat of the sun, however, became more and more intolerable to his wife who fled to her father's home, keeping her earthy double, variously called Nikṣubhā, Chhāyā or Savarṇā, in attendance on Sūrya. Sūrya obtained two more sons, a second Manu called the Sāvarṇī Manu, and Śani, through Chhāyā, as well as another daughter Tapatī. The step-motherly behaviour of Chhāyā to the children of Sureṇu revealed her personality and Sūrya, in great anger, went in search of Sureṇu. Her father informed him that unable to bear his intolerable heat, she had come to him for shelter. Being refused, she had preferred a retirement to the cold regions of the North (where she was wandering about

in the shape of a mare) rather than go back to her husband whom she could no longer tolerate. Viśvakarmā assured Sūrya that in his present shape he was unbearable and if he wanted to recover his wife, he must submit his unsightly form to a process of remodelling. Sūrya, in his distress, consented to the operation and Viśvakarmā, the divine artificer, placed Sūrya on his lathe and produced a beautiful form from Sūrya's burning body. His legs, however, remained as they were before. Thus improved in appearance, he went to Sureṇu in the form of a horse and had three sons by her, viz : the divine twin Aśvins and Revanta, the lord of horses and horsemen.

Let us now proceed to consider individually the several features of an image of the Sun-god.

A. The Boots of the sun-god.

The Matsya-Purāṇa, after recounting how the feet of the Sun-god were left unfinished by Viśvakarmā, adds (Page 31, *Vaṅgavāsī* Ed.):—"So, in the matter of the worship of the Sun, no one anywhere fashions his feet. If it is done, it gives leprosy. In picture, as well as in images placed in temples, the devotee should carefully refrain from conceiving the feet of the Sun-god." The Bṛhat-Saṁhitā also directs that the body of the Sun-god should be hidden up to the thighs or the breast*.

In the earliest images, the god is made to stand in such a manner in the hollow of the car that his legs are invisible, as is the case with the image of the Sun-god on the Buddha-gayā railing, (*Vide* Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra's Buddha Gayā or

* The words *Uru*—thigh, and *Urah*—breast, being very much alike, led early to a confusion of meaning, as is evident from some images which are represented only with the head and part of the breast, while others are represented down to the thighs.

Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. V.) as well as with the image at Ellora. (Rao's Iconography, Plate LXXXVIII, fig. 2). The image of the Sun-god noticed in Sec. 31, p. 27—28 of the report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for 1922-23, discovered from Mrohaung in Arakan, is also an image of this class. Two images of the Sun-god from Behar, now in the Indian Museum,—(Supplementary Catalogue, P. 78, No. 3925 and the next one on the next page) similarly do not figure the legs of the god. In the Bengal images, another expedient was employed. The sculptors fashioned the outlines of the legs of the god, but like the Divine Artificer of old, left them uncarved. The uncarved portion thus appeared as if covered by leggings or boots, but they were not so in reality. Thus the so-called boots of the Sun-god may probably be nothing but the finished outlines of Sūrya's uncarved legs.

The following points, however, are in favour of their being taken as boots or leggings.

(i) The top of this uncarved portion is sometimes found ornamented and pointed outwards like a dog's tongue, while the toe is sometimes fashioned like the toes of shoes used in upper India.

(ii) The two wives of the Sun-god and his two male attendants also have their legs and feet similarly covered. There is reason in leaving the legs of the Sun-god uncarved, but there is absolutely no reason why his attendants should be similarly treated. The Bṛhat-Saṁhitā directs that the Sun-god should be given a 'Northern' dress, while the passage of the Matsya-Purāṇa quoted by Mr. Rao directs that his attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala also should be dressed in the 'Northern' fashion. The sculptors may have taken advantage of this prescription of 'Northern' dress to give boots to the Sun-god, as well as his attendants, and thus evade representing the Sun's legs. It should be mentioned, however, that I have not

succeeded in finding any text in which the legs of the Sun-god are expressly directed to be covered by long boots or leggings.

B. The ornaments and apparel of the Sun-god.

The most notable of them are his girdle, his breast-plate or armour and his double cloth. (বস্ত্রযুগ্ম-সমোপেতং। *Matsya-Purāṇa*). The first two are practically universal, but the two cloths, though present in most of the Bengal images of the Sun-god, are occasionally found absent. The girdle almost always takes the form of a highly ornamental belt furnished with a dagger on either side,—perhaps an accompaniment of the 'Northern' dress. In the unique figure of the Sun-god in metal, noticed below, from Deulbāḍī in the Tippera district, in which the god is represented as sitting cross-legged, the girdle is placed round the abdomen of the god. The breast-plate most often takes the form of a knot formed on the chest by the interlacing of lines passing round the shoulders and under the arms ; but sometimes it takes the form of a thin ornamental scarf crossed over the chest and of such fine texture that the body shows through it.

Of the pair of cloths required to be given to the Sun-god, one is that which the god wears as a *dhuti* and which is held fast round the waist by the girdle. The second one is sometimes folded and hung in front from the girdle and sometimes rolled like a scarf and attached to some portion of the body.

The ornaments of Sūrya, viz : the necklace, the ear-rings, the crown &c., do not call for special mention, as they are mostly common with other images.

C. The wives and children of the Sun-god.

Sūrya, as we have already seen, had originally two wives, Uṣas and Śaraṇyu, who became Sureṇu in the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa. The earthy double (*Mahīmayī Chhāyā*) of Sureṇu, who was called either Chhāyā or Nikṣubhā, was added later on, as the third wife of Sūrya.

In the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, 79-9, the etymology of the name Nikṣubhā is given, from which it appears that the word is formed from the root *su*, to bring forth. Nikṣubhā is explained as an appellation of the Earth, because she creates the mortals, the disembodied spirits and the gods, and supports them with food, herbs, wine and nectar.* The term 'earthy double' is significant and when we find that Dyau (the Firmament) is mentioned as one of the alternative names of Sureṇu, daughter of Viśvakarmā or Tvaṣṭa, we at once realise that the Vaidic pair Dyāvā-Pṛthivī (the Earth and the Firmament) were conceived as the two wives of the Sun-god,—an extremely natural conception.

The intermediate stage in the growth of this idea may be found in the 4th part of the 15th Chapter of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (*Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* Edition, edited by Principal Trivedī, p.321) where the goddess Dyau, Uṣas, Go and Pṛthivī are said to be 'coupled' with, *i. e.*, married to Sūrya by the previous invocation of Sūrya before they themselves are invoked.

The principal wives of the Sun-god are therefore three in number :—Uṣas, Dyau and Pṛthivī, *i. e.*, the Dawn, the Firmament and the Earth. Uṣas stands by herself, and only

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*নিক্ষুভা সূয়তে যস্মাদন্নৌষধিস্থরামৃতৈঃ।
মর্ত্ত্যান্ পিতৄংশ্চ দেবাংশ্চ তেন ভূর্নিক্ষুভা স্মৃতাঃ॥

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rarely has Sandhyā (the Evening) added as a co-wife. Dyau has several names, such as Sureṇu, Rājñī, Saṁjñā, Tvaṣṭrī, Prabhā, Suvarchasā etc. These are sometimes differentiated into individual personalities. The third one is variously called Nikṣubhā, Chhāyā, Savarṇā or Pṛthivī. Uṣas, who is so important a goddess in the Ṛg-Veda, is hardly mentioned as a wife of Sūrya in the Purāṇas or *Śilpa-Śāstras*, probably because she had no children, while the latter two are always prominently mentioned. The Bengal sculptors, however, hardly ever failed to represent the miniature figure of Uṣas in front of the Sun-god, between the god himself and his charioteer Aruṇa, just in the place assigned to her in the Ṛg-Veda. The following appear to be the chief children of Sūrya.

From Uṣas — none. She is said to always retain her youth.

From Sureṇu — Vaivasvata Manu, Yama and a daughter Yamī or Yamunā.

From Nikṣubhā — Śani, Sāvarṇī Manu and a daughter Tapatī.

From Sureṇu in her form of a mare—the twin Aśvins and Revanta.

D. Surya's chariot of one wheel and his charioteer.

Chapter 125 of the Matsya-Purāṇa, from verse 38 to the end, is devoted to the description of the one-wheeled car of the Sun. The description is extremely interesting reading, as it is clear from the beginning that not a material car but an allegorical one is being described. Unfortunately, the passage is rather obscure and is difficult to understand without a knowledge of Indian Astronomy.

The Chariot of the Sun moves on a single wheel (the apparent unceasing motion of the Sun from north to south and south to north ?), but it has also eight smaller wheels, (the orbits of the planets ?). The length of the pole is twice the middle part. (Does it mean to say that the path is elliptical ?). The different parts of the Chariot are composed of different measures of time, ranging from seconds to aeons. The Chariot of the Sun has got some sort of connection with the Polar Star, but I cannot follow what is exactly meant. The passage appears to mean that the Chariot is attached to the Polar Star by strings and round that star it is revolving like a potter's wheel.

The Charioteer of the Sun is Aruṇa, the elder brother of Garuḍa, the famous bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu. The story of the premature birth of Aruṇa is to be found in the *Mahābhārata* and need not be repeated here. He was only half formed on account of his premature birth and is represented as such on images of the Sun-god. Aruṇa literally means the first ruddy gleam of the coming Dawn. He is undoubtedly a personification of that ruddy gleam and, as such, is correctly placed in the fore-front of an image of the Sun-god. Behind Aruṇa is placed Dawn (Uṣas) and the Sun-god is placed immediately behind the Dawn.

E. The seven horses of the Sun-god.

Prof. Macdonell, on page 31 of his 'Vedic Mythology,' says that Sūrya's horses represent his rays which are seven in number*. The later Purāṇas, while enumerating the

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*Reference is given to the 16th *Rk* of the 61st *Sukta* of the 8th *Mandala* of Rg-Veda ; but the reference seems to be wrong, as that *Rk* speaks of Rudra and not of Surya or his rays.

seven rays of the Sun, are however unanimous in stating that the seven horses are the seven metres. These seven metres are—Gāyatrī, Bṛhatī, Uṣṇik, Jagatī, Paṁkti, Anuṣṭup and Triṣṭup. (Kūrma-Purāṇa, *Vaṅgavāsī* Ed., p. 186).

The seven rays, as Prof. Macdonell has pointed out, are already mentioned in the Vedas. Kūrma-Purāṇa (*Vaṅgavāsī* Ed., p. 188) says that the Sun has innumerable rays, of which seven are the chief. These are Suṣumna, Harikeśa, Viśvakarmā, Viśvaśravā, Saṁjadvasu, Arbhavasu and Svaraka. They are evidently of different colours, as each is said to nourish a different planet and each planet is given a different hue in the Hindu astronomy. It appears from this that the spectrum may not have been unknown to the Purāṇas.

The first ray Suṣumna nourishes the moon and it is said to shine slantingly upwards. Five of the remaining six nourish the planets Mercury, Veuus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn respectively.

F. The attendants of the Sun-god.

The three wives of the Sun-god, who invariably accompany him, have already been enumerated. On the left stands the daughter of Viśvakarmā and on the right her earthy double; immediately on the front of the Sun-god stands Dawn. His charioteer Aruṇa has also been already noticed.

The other attendants are the two male figures on the two sides and the two miniature female figures at the two extremities. Of the male attendants, the one to the right is always represented with pen and inkstand in his hands. The left one most often has a sword in his right hand, sometimes a staff, rarely a conch-shell.

All the authorities are practically unanimous in calling the figure on the left as Daṇḍa, Daṇḍī or Daṇḍanāyaka, meaning Skanda, the leader of the Heavenly Army. But in some images, (*Vide* No. [2] below) the image of Skanda is separately represented elsewhere, and so the figure on the left may have also been taken by some as Yama, one of the sons of the Sun-god.

The figure on the right is usually called Piṅgala. He is represented as a bearded, pot-bellied man with pen and inkstand in his hands. He is usually taken as the god Agni (Fire) and has resemblance to that god in having beard.* In the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, chap. 124, he is expressly called Agni, engaged in recording the good and the evil deeds of people and called Piṅgala because of his *piṅgala* or tawny colour.

But that he was also sometimes taken as the god Bidhātā (the Disposer), *i. e.*, Brahmā, is apparent from ch. 261. p. 902 of the Matsya-Purāṇa where Bidhātā with pen and inkstand in his hands is directed to be placed on one side of Sūrya. This is further corroborated by the statement found in the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa itself (ch. 140) that the Maga Brahmins, the worshippers of Sūrya, used to wear beards, because Brahmā on the chariot of the Sun-god and the Sun-god himself have beards.

The miniatures of the Adityas, the planets, the zodiacal signs, the seven Ṛṣis, as well as the sons of the Sun-god, are sometimes found represented on an image of the Sun-god.

Solar worship, as we have already seen, is as old as the Vedas ; but though allegorical allusions to his car, his horses, his wives, are fairly common in the Vedas, the divine energy

*"Agni should be given the sacred thread and he should have long beards. He should have Waterpot in his left hand and Rosary in his right." Matsya-Purana, P. 903.

of the dazzling luminary is more the object of devotion there than his concrete form. The most sacred hymn of the Vedas, the Gāyatrī or the Sāvitrī, which all Brahmins must recite every day, is a verse addressed to the god Savitṛ, another name for the Sun. Here, the divine energy of Savitṛ is prayed to, for leading the intellect ever onwards. We need not stop to consider the absence of beggarliness, and the spirit of sturdy independence and self-reliance breathing through this noble hymn of the Ṛg-Veda, which is considered by the Brahmins as the essence of all the Vedas. We are here only concerned with the fact that the Divine Energy, and not the Form of the Sun-god, the most brilliant object available to mankind for contemplation, is the subject of devotion in this hymn. Gradually the myths, which are already well-developed in the Vedas, began to crystalize. All traditions point to the Aryan community in Scythia as the people who were the first worshippers of the Sun-god. The introduction of solar worship in material form in India is ascribed to Śāmba, son of the renowned Kṛṣṇa. Śāmba is said to have been cured of leprosy by worshipping the Sun and thereon to have installed a golden image of the Sun-god at Multan.

Instances of solar worship are common from the time of the Gupta Emperors. The Mandasore inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta records the erection of a temple of the Sun-god in 437 A. D. The Indor plate of his son Skanda Gupta records a grant for the maintenance of a lamp in a temple of the Sun, (465-66 A. D.). The Gwalior stone inscription of the 15th year of Mihirakula (Fleet, p. 161) records the erection of a temple of the Sun-god.

The Vardhana Emperors, who succeeded the Guptas, were staunch worshippers of the Sun-god. Their very names, such as *Ā*ditya-vardhana, Prabhākara-vardhana, indicate their faith, and Emperor Harṣa expressly applies the epithet of "*Paramā-*

dityabhakta" (great devotee of the Sun-god), to his ancestors in his copper-plate inscriptions. Yuan Chwang, who was present at the Court of Harṣa-vardhana, mentions a temple of the Sun-god at Kanauj, which had 1000 attendants attached to it.

The Shāhpur Image inscription of *Ā*ditya Sena (672 A.D.) and the Deo Barnarak inscription of Jīvita Gupta, his descendant, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha who succeeded the Vardhanas in the sovereignty of Eastern India, both relate to solar worship. The seated metallic image of the Sun-god described below appears also to belong to this period. The very great number of images of the Sun-god that are found all over Bengal, belongs to a much later period and testifies to the popularity of the deity even during the long period of the supremacy of the Buddhist Pāla Kings. The Varmans and the Senas, who followed the Pālas, specifically call themselves *Saura*, *i. e.*, worshippers of the Sun-god. The solar worship in Orissa culminated in the stupendous structures at Koṇārak which still stand on the sandy coast of Orissa,—mute witnesses to the great popularity of the Sun-god in Eastern India.

The most famous image of the Sun-god in India was that at Multan, whose temple was visited by Yuan Chwang. He saw there a magnificent temple of the Sun-god,—profusely decorated. The image was of cast gold. "The Kings and high families of the Five Indies all worship the Deva"—writes this zealous Buddhist with admiration, who had hardly called the worshippers of the Brahmanical faith by any other epithet than 'Unbelievers' all through his 'Travels'.

The Sanskrit texts all point to Śāmba, as the founder of this image. In Varāha-Purāṇa, ch. 177, p. 565, the story of how Śāmba was cursed by his father Kṛṣṇa with leprosy because the beauty of his person had moved the hearts of

his step-mothers, is narrated at length. From a passage there, it appears that on his recovery by worshipping the Sun, he established three temples in India. One in *Udayāchala* (the mount of the sun-rise), a second at Mathura, and the third at Śāmbapura, representing respectively the morning, the mid-day and the evening sun. *Udayāchala* may be the same as Udayagiri, midway between Cuttuck and Puri in Orissa. The *Arka-Kṣetra* or the Zone of the Sun in Orissa, which includes the locality of the temple of the Sun at Koṇārak, is well-known and is claimed in the Kapila-Saṁhitā (which appears to be a later work) as the original place of Śāmba's austerities. (M. Gāṅgulī's 'Orissa and her Remains'—p. 439-441). The worship of the Jagannātha at Puri is also supposed by some to be connected with solar worship and the image itself is supposed to be a primitive representation of the orb of the Sun.* It is noteworthy that the car festival of Jagannātha at Puri is a feature which was also observed in the worship of the Sun-god at Mathura and Śāmbapura, and the Varāha-Purāṇa extols the merit accruing to the pilgrims, who, having attended the car festival of the Sun-god at Mathura, also attend the same festival held in honour of the Sun at Śāmbapura, which was held on the *Saptamī Tithi* in the month of *Māgha.*

Śāmbapura is without doubt the present Multan. The Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, ch. 74, states that it stood on the Chandrabhāgā river, one of the five branches of the Indus. The Chandrabhāgā† is the modern Chenub on which Multan stands. But the identity of Multan and Śāmbapura is placed

**Vide* Dr. Bloch's Supplementary Catalogue of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum. Section on Images of the Sun-god, p. 79, foot-note.

† It may be noted that Konarak also stands on a small stream called Chandrabhaga, and this fact must have easily lent to the clever fake of the Kapila-Samhita in making it out as the original place where Samba established the image of the Sun-god.

beyond doubt by the following observation of Alberuni, Vol. I, p. 298.

"Utpala, a native of Kashmir, says, in his commentary in the book Saṁhitā regarding this subject: 'The names of countries change and particularly in the Yugas. So Multan was originally called Kāśyapapura, then Haṁsapura, then Bhagapura, then Śāmbapura and then Mūlasthāna, *i. e.*, the original place'."

That the car festival at Śāmbapura was no myth and had an all-India renown, is evident from the following passage in Alberuni, vol. II, p.184.

"The Hindus of Multan have a festival which is called Śāmbapura Yātrā. They celebrate it in honour of the Sun-god and worship him." From astronomical calculations given after this to show how the exact date of the festival is to be determined on the almanac, it appears that it had a permanent place in the almanacs of the period.

The figure of the Sun-god of Multan appears on three coins (*circa* 500 A. D.) illustrated by Cunningham in Vol. V of his Archaeological Survey Roports, on Plate XXXVII. Only the bust of the god appears on the coins which depict him as a rayed god wearing armour.

The golden image which Yuan Chwang saw, may have been the original image established at Śāmbapura. It was destroyed by Muhammad Bin Kasim. It appears to have been 230 maunds in weight. (*Vide* Dowson and Elliot, History of India by its own Historians, Vol. I, p. 206).

A fresh image appears to have been installed after this sacrilege, for Alberuni describes the image in his time (Vol. I, p. 116) to have been of wood and covered by Cordovan leather. It appears (Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. V, p. 119) that this image continued to exist down to the 17th century when it is said to have been finally destroyed by Aurangzib.

PLATE LVIII.



Sūryya from Sukhabāspur. 3. A. (iii) a / I

$\frac{3. A. (iii) a}{1}$. Image of the Sun-god in black stone, 4′10″ × 2′5″. It is an elaborately ornamented image with the *Kṛttimukha* sign at the top. The god stands erect in his car. His cloth descends down to the knee and a second piece of cloth is flatly hung in his front. The girdle which holds his cloth tight round the waist, is profusely ornamented and is further decorated with artistic hangings. Two daggers are attached to the girdle on the two sides. The leg of the god is covered by high foot-wears, the upper fringes of which are artistically carved. The breast is protected by armour, the outlines of which intertwine to form a knot on the breast. The god wears elaborate necklaces and ear-rings and an artistically worked coronet bedecks his head. He holds two lotuses in his two hands which rise a little above his shoulders. Bearded, pot-bellied Piṅgala, also in top-boots, stands on the right side of the god with pen and inkstand in his hands. Daṇḍa, who is also shown in armour and top-boots, stands to the left with a sword in his right hand and with the left resting on a staff.

The two wives of Sūrya, viz: Sureṇu and Nikṣubhā, stand respectively on the left and the right side of the god. The goddess Uṣā (Dawn) in miniature is placed in front of the Sun-god. The half-bird Aruṇa is driving Sun's chariot of One Wheel and Seven Horses. Below Aruṇa is represented a curious gaping bi-ped, whose upraised trunk Aruṇa holds in his right hand, which evidently is serving him in place of the gathered reins of the Seven Horses. This is probably the Nāga spoken of in certain texts, which serves to rein the Seven Horses of the Sun (*Nāgarajju*). The two female Archers shooting arrows are also shown to the right and the left of Piṅgala and Daṇḍa. The centaur-upon-elephant design is exhibited on the two perpendicular sides of the piece, while above these are a pair of Vidyādharas.

Found at Sukhabāspur, P. S. Munsiganj, District Dacca. Presented by Rai Rameśa Chandra Guha Bahadur of Vajrayoginī.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (iii)\ a}{2}$. Image of the Sun-god in black stone, 4′ 3″ × 2′ 4″. The *Umbrella* sign is exhibited at the top. The Details are very much like No. 1. This image has 11 *Ā*dityas in addition, which are represented in miniature round the main image. The lower part of Aruṇa is fashioned like a bird.

Found somewhere in Vikrampur, District Dacca, and procured by the late Babu Vaikuṇṭha Nātha Sena of Sonāraṅg who presented it to the late Babu Mohinī Mohana Dāsa of Savjimahāl, Dacca. Presented to the Dacca Museum by the wife of Mohinī Babu.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (iii)\ a}{3}$. Image of the Sun-god in black stone, 4′ 3″ × 2′ 3″. The face of the image was damaged through an incautious stroke of the spade when raising it from the ditch in which it was found. It has a short votive inscription on the pedestal, in the Bengali script of the 12th century A. D., which reads, *Subhachīttadāsasya*, i. e. of Subhachitta Dāsa. This image is almost a replica of No. 2, described above. It may be noted that there is a third image, discovered from *Ā*rial (about four miles to the east from the find-place of the present image) and now preserved in the Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat, which is also identical with these two. These three images appear to have been the work of the same sculptor.

Found at Nāhāpārā, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca, and presented by Babu Jagadīśa Kumāra Mazumdar.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (iii)\ a}{4}$. Image of the Sun-god in black stone, 3′ 5″ × 1′ 9″. The image possesses no sculptural sign at the top. The 11 *Ā*dityas are present. It resembles No. 1 in all other

particulars. The figure of Uṣā is comparatively bigger than what is found on most images. The Nāga below Aruṇa is present.

Found somewhere in Vikrampur and obtained from the Vaiṣṇava monastery at *Ā*bdullāpur, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (iii)\ a}{5}$. Image of the Sun-god in black stone, 4′2″×1′11″. The image has the *Kṛttimukha* sign. The knot on the breast is absent. Its place is taken by an armour of different design, the outlines of which are shown. The *Nāga* below Aruṇa is absent. In all other particulars, it resembles No. 1.

From the Raghurāmpur Excavations.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (iii)\ a}{6}$. Image of the Sun-god in sand-stone, very much weather-worn, 2′×11″. The following particulars deserve notice. The *Nāga* below Aruṇa seems to be present. The usual Seven Horses do not appear at the bottom. They may have disappeared through corrosion. The archer-women are present. Goddess Uṣā existed, but the two other wives are not shown. The god has the knot over the breast. The Vidyādharas are on the top. The centaur-upon-elephant designs are on the flanks.

Found at Nāhāpārā, P. S. Munsiganj, District Dacca, and presented by Babu Jagadīśa Kumāra Mazumdar.

$\frac{3.\ A.\ (iii)\ a}{7}$. Image of the Sun-god in black stone about 2′ in height. The image has the *Kṛttimukha* sign and the 11 *Ā*dityas. No other feature calls for special notice.

Found somewhere in Vikrampur and presented by Rai Rameśa Chandra Guha Bahadur.

As already stated, images of the Sun-god are very numerous in the mofussil villages of Eastern Bengal. It is needless to notice all the images known, as most of them

are more or less of the same type. Below are described only four that appear to have peculiarities above the common.

[1. An image of the Sun-god in *octo-alloy* metal, about 6″ in height. The god *sits* inside a car of one wheel while seven spirited horses are represented underneath the car as drawing it along. There is a prominent girdle round the *abdomen* of the god. The Nāga below Aruṇa is also very prominent. The miniature is undoubtedly a remarkable sample of the East Indian Art of the 7th—8th century A. D. The image was discovered in company with an inscribed Sarvvāṇī image (see *infra*, 3. B. (ii) f ; and *supra*, 3. A. (ii) i—[1], p. 143) from some ruins in the village of Deulbāḍī, in the Tippera District, some 22 miles south of Comilla. It has now been taken and set up in the temple at Chaṇḍīmuḍā, close to the Lālmāi station on the A. B. Railway.

2. Image of the Sun-god worshipped in the house of the Gosvāmī's at Sonāraṅg, P. S. Ṭaṅgībāḍī, District Dacca. The image is one of black stone, about 4′ 6″ in height and is the most elaborate image of the Sun-god that has up till now come to the author's notice, in the eastern districts of Bengal. The image is very peculiar in one respect. Except the *Kṛttimukha* at the top and the figures of the two flying Vidyādharas on either side of the head of the god, there is not a single other redundant detail over the whole sculpture, which, thus, has a singularly bald and plain look. The want of decorative details, however, is more than made up by the number of miniature figures that crowd the piece. Besides the figures of the eleven Ādityas, which are often met with on images of the Sun-god, and the usual male and female companions of the Sun-god, the piece contains the representations of the following :—

(i) Eight planets, which, with the Sun-god, complete the traditional number nine.



Sūryya at Chaṇḍīmuḍa.



Sūryya at Sonārang. $\frac{3. \text{ A (iii) a}}{[2]}$

(ii) The twelve zodiacal signs.

(iii) Miniature figures of Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa,

All these are on the right side of the god. Over the elaborate halo that surrounds his head :—

(iv) Six male figures sitting cross-legged. It is not clear whom they represent. The Ṛṣi's are said to be companions of the Sun-god, but their number is seven. The six seasons ?

To the left of the god :—

(v) Seven female figures sitting cross-legged, one above the other, and two more, similarly arranged, closer to the Sun-god. The first seven probably represent the *Seven Mothers* (*Saptamātṛkā*). It is not clear who the additional two are.

3, A fine image of the Sun-god in black stone found at Rājair in the Faridpur district. The sculptor has succeeded in stamping a very pleasing smile on the face of the god, which does credit to his skill. Daṇḍa has no sword in his right hand. His left hand rests on a staff. The most remarkable feature about the image is the exquisitely carved *kañchuka* or coat of mail which clings to the body of the god like a piece of finely embroidered muslin.

4. Image of the Sun-god in black stone, about 4′ in height. It was found somewhere in the Tippera District and is now preserved at the house of the late Babu Anukūla Chandra Rāya at Comilla. The *Umbrella* sign is prominent on the top. The peculiar feature about the image is that the 11 *Ā*dityas are represented in a *sitting* posture. In the same compound is to be found one other image of the Sun-god of about the same height, with *Umbrella* sign, and with the 11 *Ā*dityas in sitting posture.]

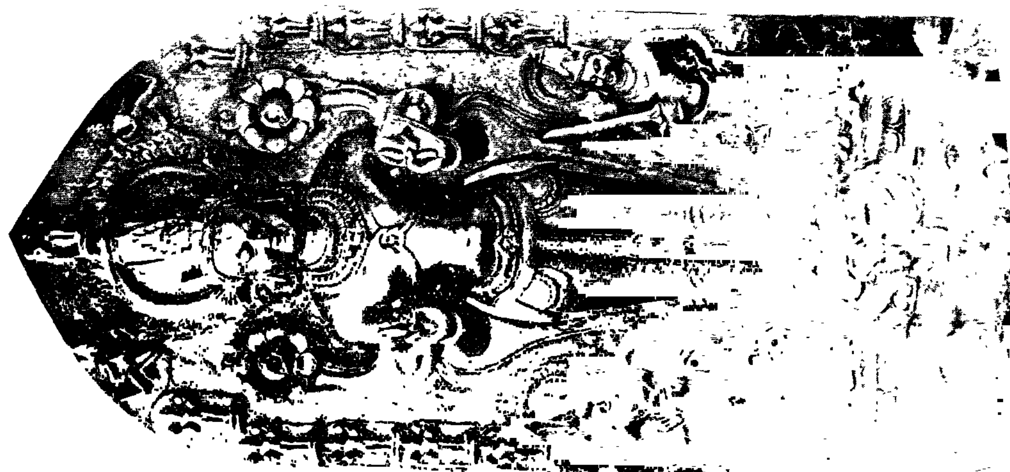
3. A. (iii) b. REVANTA.

Revanta is a comparatively little known deity. Indeed, his exact identification was unknown until Pandit B. B. Vidyāvinoda, in J. A. S. B. 1909, p. 391 identified some images as those of Revanta, by a close study of the images of this class (all from Behar) in the Indian Museum. No image of Revanta from Bengal is known* except the one now in the Dacca Museum. This was discovered from a big tank at Baḍ-kāmtā in the Tippera district. This tank, with some other tanks and old ruins enclosed within a dried up moat, evidently marks the site of an old royal settlement. Elsewhere (J. A. S. B., 1914. *A forgotten Kingdom of East Bengal.*) I have identified Baḍ-kāmtā as the capital of the Khaḍga line of kings, rulers of the kingdom of Samataṭa. (Also vide *supra*, p. 6—7). Unfortunately, the image was discovered in a sadly mutilated state and many of the details are lost. It appears to have suffered from wilful mutilation. The pedestal is chopped off, with any inscription that it might have contained. The use of the chlorite stone and the style in general would, however, suggest that the image does not belong to a period earlier than the 10th—11th century A. D.

The story of the birth of Revanta has been given in the introductory note on the images of the Sun-god. Revanta was begotten on Sureṇu, by Sūrya in the shape of a horse, while she was wandering in the north polar regions in the shape of a mare. The divine twin Aśvins, the physicians of heaven, were born first and then came Revanta.

Pandit Vidyāvinoda had to base his identification of Revanta on only a single line of Bṛhat-Saṁhitā of Varāha mihira (*circa* 5th century A. D.), viz : *Revanto-'śvārūḍho*

*The image catalogued as Revanta in the catalogue of the Rajsahi Museum appears, from the description given, to be an image of Vatuka Bhairava.



(b) Sūryya at Firingibazar.
(See addendum.)



(a) Sūryya from Rājair.

mṛgayākrīḍādi-parivāraḥ (*Vangavāsī* Ed. 58/56); i. e. Revanta should be represented on horse-back accompanied by a hunting party. But there are several other Sanskrit texts that throw much light on Revanta. The following passage of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, ch. 108, verses 11, 19—22, give some interesting details about Revanta and his functions.

"From the end of the ejaculation sprang Revanta, riding a horse, his body protected by armour, with a sword and a bow in his hands and provided with arrows and quiver. .... He was given the overlordship over the *Guhyakas*. Then the lord on whom people meditate (i. e. the Sun-god) addressing Revanta said: 'My son, you will win the worship of innumerable multitudes. At the time of natural calamities like forest fires and big blazes, or apprehended invasion by enemy or loot by free-booters, those mortals that invoke thy aid shall be freed from great dangers. When worshipped and propitiated, you shall give to your worshippers welfare, riches, happiness, kingdom, health, fame and advancement."

The Agni-Purāṇa calls Revanta 'a horseman'; but the most elaborate details about his worship are to be found in the Kālikā-Purāṇa, chapter 80. The worship of Revanta described there appears to be the concluding worship in the rite of *Nīrājanā*, the performance of which was incumbent on every king. This Nīrājanā rite was performed after the worship of the goddess Durgā in the autumn and lasted for seven days. It was a kind of military and religious ceremony performed by kings or generals of armies in the month of *Āśvina*, preparatory to a campaign. It was a general purification, by means of sacred *mantras*, of the king's priests, his ministers and all the various component parts of an army, together with the arms and implements of war. It was also accompanied by a kind of triumphal march, parade and mock-fight.

Revanta was worshipped on the 7th day after the worship of several other gods had proceeded during the previous six days accompanied by *Yajña* or Sacrifices. An image of Revanta was installed outside the city gate. Revanta is described here as having two strong arms and his body shining with armour. He should have his hairs restrained or covered by an apparel (meaning probably the *pugree*). He should have a whip in his left hand and a sword in the right, and he should be placed on a white horse and worshipped with the same rites as used in the worship of the Sun-god.

After the worship of Revanta, the purification of the army followed and then came the mock-fight, consisting in the destruction of the earthen representations of the enemy's forces. Finally came the triumphal march up to a distance of two miles, after which the king, accompanied by his followers, returned to the capital.

Under the word *Tithyāditattvaṁ*, the Śabda-kalpa-druma quotes a text* which shows that the worship of Revanta was also enjoined on those who had riches, as well as on those who possessed horses.

The image described on page 448 of the excellent work "Orissa and Her Remains" by Mr. M. Ganguly as an image of the Sun-god on horse-back, appears, from the description given, to be an image of Revanta. Another image of Revanta is illustrated on Plate XVI, No. 7, of Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. 1, page 99.†

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* পূজ্যঃ সাশ্বৈশ্চ রেবন্তো তথা বিভববিস্তরৈঃ ।

† "On the outside of the door is a very curious sculpture which is called Bhairab, but seems to me to represent a prince riding out to hunt the antelope. He is accompanied by archers, musicians, targeteers, women, dogs etc. The animal on which he rides is by the natives called a sheep, but I presume, was intended to represent a horse."



(b) Sarasvatī in the Lucknow Museum.
(Vide page 187.)

(a) Revanta. 3 A (m) b / 1

$\frac{3. A. (iii) b.}{1}$ Image of Revanta in black stone, $3' 6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2' 11''$.

Revanta is represented as a young hunter in top boots, riding on a horse. He is carved as he would appear when viewed from the right side. The horse has an artistic cover placed on its back to which is fixed a saddle with high pommel and back, between which Revanta sits gracefully. He holds the reins of the horse in his left hand. The right hand, along with the right half of the body, seems to have been hammered away and lost. The horse, a cantering spirited animal, has also lost its two legs on the right side and suffered other damages. A row of tinklers is found strung round the remaining front leg of the horse.

A mutilated male attendant holding an umbrella over the head of the god is seen at the back. Below him is represented a man with a sword in his right hand. To his left stands a lady, perhaps his wife, with a frolicsome child at her feet. To the left of Revanta, (seen underneath the belly of the horse) an archer has shot an arrow which has struck a boar flying ahead. Another, a smaller boar, is depicted in front of the wounded one, while a dog stands by the archer. The front leg of the horse is raised in a canter and appears as if it would come down on the wounded boar.

In the front panel, seven ladies are seen, bearing flowers and fruits, and water in a pitcher; below them, four male attendants are depicted. Two of them have swords in their hands, the third a club, and the fourth a hawk.

Found from the western tank within the moat at Baḍkāmtā, District Tippera, and presented by Babu Anukūla Chandra Rāya, B. A.

3. B. GODDESSES.

The part that woman is designed by nature to perform in the propagation of the race is too important to be ignored even by the meanest intelligence. The Seers of the Vedas could not but perceive that there the woman's part far transcended the man's, and, as such, deserved grateful recognition not only in material life, but also in the intellectual region of worship. The intellect of the Vedic Seer had been illumined by the vision of the **One** whom the motionless, inscrutable, deep, dark void in labour gave birth to. The majesty of this August Mother could not but be early realised. She is called Aditi,—Boundlessness personified. Scholars have expressed surprise at 'so early a personification of such an abstract idea' (Prof. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, P. 122); but the idea does not appear to be more abstract than the conception of the birth of the **One** when time lay undifferentiated by day and night and existence existed not,—the conception of a boundless Void being only its natural premise.

Aditi is the Universal Nature. She is the spouse of *Ṛta*, the cosmic order or Law prevailing in Nature. She is the sky, the air, the mother, the father, the son. She is whatever has been born; she is whatever shall be born. (R. V. 1—89[10]. A. V. VII—6[1]). She is thus the Universal Nature and the Universal Mother. According to Max Muller, Aditi is the earliest name invented to express the Infinite as visible to the naked eye, the endless expanse beyond the earth, the cloud and the sky. (Vedic Hymns. S. B. E. 32, 241).

In the Atharva-Veda, VIII—9, 10, this Universal Nature is designated by a new term, *Virāj*. It is she who first shone out and came into being; it is she who is the mother of the three worlds. (VIII, 9—11). She was the Universe in the

beginning. She gradually manifested herself in the created things and beings and in the Laws of Nature. Her identity with the old Aditi is also hinted at in A. V. VIII—9—21. She is addressed as Svadhā in VIII—10. 11, 23. She is called Illusion in VIII—10.22.

The Primeval Darkness enveloped in Darkness was this Aditi, the Universal Mother, the Virāj of the Atharva Veda. The following famous hymn is applied to Virāj.

ইয়মেব যা সা প্রথমা বৌছত্
বধূর্জ্জজান ত্রিজগৎ জনিত্রী ॥

This same is she who first shone out. The bride came into being, the mother of the three worlds.

This verse is found in the Yajur-Veda (T. S. IV. 3. II[1]), the Sāma-Veda (M. B. ii. 2. 15) and in the Atharva-Veda (III. 10. 4 and VIII. 9. 11). In the last, in III. 10. 4, it is addressed to Night and is thus in keeping with the original character of Aditi, the Primeval Darkness.

If we compare with this conception of Aditi, the Paurānic conception of the Devī, we shall have no hesitation in accepting the two as identical. The following invocation is addressed to her by Brahmā in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, ch. 81.

"Oh the Imperishable, the Eternal One, Thou art Svāhā, Svadhā and Vaṣaṭkāra...... Thou art the Supreme Mother. It is Thou who createst this Universe and holdest it and swallowest it up at the Doomsday. At its emanation, thou didst take the form of Creation and in protecting it, thou hast the form of Permanence, and at the end of this world thou wilt have the form of Contraction, O thou who containest the world. Thou art the Great Knowledge, the Great Illusion, the Great Vigour, the Great Memory, the

Great Delusion, the Great Goddess and the Great Power. Thou art the original source of the Universe, the exciting cause of the three qualities; thou art the Doomsday Night, the Night Eternal, and the terrible Night of Delusion."

Throughout the whole course of the development of the theory of Śakti, her maternal aspect is never lost sight of. The next step in the development of this line of thought is reached when the maternal aspect of Śakti led to her inevitable characterisation as wife. Here even the conception did not subordinate her to the husband. Śakti is the female counterpart of Śiva, Prakṛti is the female energy of Puruṣa : but it is she who is the dynamic principle. Śiva is powerful and active only with Śakti: otherwise he is in torpor.

This wifely aspect of the Original Mother has been accounted for in the Purāṇas by the story of the birth of the Triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva from the Devī, who ultimately took Śiva as her consort. The stories of the reciprocal birth of Dakṣa Prajāpati from Aditi and of Aditi from Dakṣa (R. V. 10,72[4-5]) and the incest of Prajāpati with his own daughter appear to have been the necessary preliminaries of the above theory. *Śaktivāda* gradually inclined to Śaivism and it is in that character that it holds the field at present

In the Ṛg.-Veda, many of the gods appear as provided with wives. Indra has Indraṇi, Varuṇa has Varuṇānī, Agni has Agnāyī, Rudra has Rudrāṇī, etc. But these goddesses have hardly any individuality. The theory that the goddesses are the Śaktis of the gods, *i. e.* the female energy without whose co-operation the gods are powerless,—is undoubtedly a later growth. When this theory became established, the goddess Lakṣmī was assigned as the Śakti of Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī of Brahmā and Pārvvatī or Umā of Śiva. The worship of Brahmā fell into disuse and Sarasvatī was

gradually assigned to Viṣṇu as his second wife. The cult of the wife of Śiva absorbed various forms of primitive worship of the female energy and by degrees emerged as the powerful and individual Śakti cult. The present-day Brahmanical pantheon of goddesses will be found to be divided into these two main groups,—the Vaiṣṇavī and the Śakti, the latter of which is by far the more crowded one. Some of the other goddesses, the wives of the old Vaidic gods, are also sometimes met with, holding on to a precarious existence.

3. B. (i). VAISNAVI IMAGES.

a. Sarasvati.

Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning and culture, is a very well-known deity. She has various other names, such as Vāk, Vāgdevī, Vāgīśvarī, Bhāratī, Vāṇī, etc., etc.

As the goddess of culture and learning, she was popular among the followers of the Brahmanical religion, as well as among the Buddhists and the Jainas.* The Buddhists conceived her as the consort of Mañjuśrī, while in Brahmanical mythology, she is sometimes consorted with Brahmā and sometimes with Viṣṇu. She is ordinarily represented sitting on a lotus seat with one leg pendant, playing on a Vīṇā. Her vehicle swan is represented near her feet.

This milk-white goddess of culture has a curious record.† She appears in the Ṛg-Veda as a manifestation of a sacred river called Sarasvatī. She is said to have refreshed Indra in his labours, while the Aśvins helped him. (R. V. 131[5]). The Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā expands this into a narrative of

* V. A. Smith's Jaina Stūpas of Mathurā. Page 56. Plate XCIX, b.

† Prof. Macdonell's Vedic Mythology. Page 87.

how when Indra with the other gods was engaged in a healing sacrifice, Aśvins as physicians and Sarasvatī by her *speech* communicated vigour to Indra. Gradually she came to be identified with the Vedic goddess Vāk, the personified speech, (Vedic Mythology, P. 124) and the identification is unhesitating in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 3-9-17 and in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, where it is reiterated several times.*

Sarasvatī as an individual goddess seems at first to have been consorted with Brahmā. The story will be found in the 3rd chapter of the Matsya-Purāṇa. Brahmā performed austere meditations in order to create, and from his mind sprang his ten mind-born sons. From his body, on the other hand, sprang ten other issues, the last of whom was a daughter, variously called Śatarūpā, Aṅgajā, Ātmajā, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī and Brahmānī. Brahmā became enamoured of her and began to mutter in ecstacy,—"What beauty, what extraordinary beauty!" He began to feel shame to look at her in the presence of his sons, when this daughter prostrated herself before him and then began to walk round him in devotion. Brahmā kept his seat, but his keen desire of never ceasing to look at her caused a face to spring in each direction, (north, east, south, west and up) and thus gave him five faces.†

This myth of the incest of Brahmā has its origin in the Ṛg-Veda, X—61/5-7, and is developed through Maitrāyanī Saṁhitā (4-2[12]; *vide* Vedic Mythology, p. 119), Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, (6th Prapāṭhaka, 2nd Brāhmaṇa, *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* Edition, vol. I. p. 212) and Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (3-9, Ditto Edition, p. 287). In these, Prajāpati is said to

* Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* Edition. Pages 132, 186, 227, 296.

† Brahmā subsequently lost one of his faces in a contest with the five-faced Rudra and thus came to be known as the *Chaturmukha* or the four-faced one.

have coupled with his daughter, called either Dyayus or Uṣas. The place of Dyayus or Uṣas is taken in the Purāṇas by Sarasvatī, or Sāvitrī, the Vedic learning personified.*

The story of the connection of Sarasvatī with Viṣṇu is of more recent origin and is indeed found in fully developed form only in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, (chapters 1-7, *Prakṛti-khaṇḍaṁ*) a work avowedly devoted to the cult of Kṛṣṇa. Here, the older traditions regarding the origin of Sarasvatī and her relationship with Brahmā are altogether passed over and a novel origin is fabricated for her. Kṛṣṇa is, according to this Purāṇa, the One Lord of the Universe. Once, He felt an inclination to create and thus sprang from him Rādhā, his female counterpart. Their union produced the Mundane Egg, which Rādhā threw into the Mundane Waters. Kṛṣṇa was incensed at this unmotherly conduct of Rādhā and cursed her, as well as the other goddesses who would be her parts and would proceed from her, with ever-lasting youth and barrenness. At this stage,—"suddenly, from the tip of Rādhā's tongue sprang forth a lovely girl of white colour wearing yellow dresses, heavily bedecked with jewels and holding a *vīṇā* and a book in her hands,—the presiding deity

* Muir, in his 'Original Sanskrit Texts' (vol. iv, Pages 38-41), has gathered together some texts on the subject, and he remarks :—"This legend of Brahmā and his daughter, though, as appears from a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, it has occasioned scandal among the Indian writers from an early period, is not to be regarded in the same light as many other stories regarding the licentious actions of some of the other gods. The production of a female and her conjunction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in Manu, 1-82, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process (and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis)."

of all the *Śāstras.*" Rādhā again parted herself into two and her left half was transformed into Kamalā or Lakṣmī. At this, Kṛshṇa also parted himself into two and produced the four-armed Viṣṇu from the left half of his body. Kṛṣṇa gave Sarasvatī and Kamalā to Viṣṇu as his wives, with whom he went to *Vaikunṭha* and lived there in happiness.

From chapter vi, it appears, however, that Viṣṇu had obtained another wife, Gaṅgā by name, in the meantime. One day Gaṅgā was looking wistfully at her Lord and Viṣṇu was reciprocating the tender glances. This was too much for the short-tempered Sarasvatī who vehemently began to accuse Viṣṇu of partiality. Viṣṇu, in order to give Sarasvatī time to recover her temper, left the place ; but this only served to incense Sarasvatī the more. She advanced threateningly towards Gaṅgā, when Lakṣmī intervened. Exasperated at the intervention, Śarasvatī cursed Lakṣmī with transformation into both a tree and a river. Lakṣmī was holding Sarasvatī by force. The curse made her full of grief but she neither cursed in return nor let Sarasvatī go. At this goodness of Lakṣmī, Gaṅgā fired up and cursed Sarasvatī with transformation into a river. Sarasvatī, who had not yet cooled down, returned the same curse to Gaṅgā.

At this stage Viṣṇu returned and learnt what had happened. He forthwith divorced Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā and decreed that only Lakṣmī should remain with him, part of her energy descending to the earth to fulfil the curses of Sarasvatī. She would thus be born as the daughter of a king, obtain Viṣṇu as her lover and then be transformed into the sacred *Tulasī* plant. As a river, she would be known as the Padmāvatī or the Padmā and would be as sacred as the Ganges. Sarasvatī was given over to Brahmā and Gaṅgā to Śiva. At the intervention of Lakṣmī, however, Viṣṇu relented so far as to permit Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā to remain

near him in part, while the rest of their energy would go to fulfil the curses and to attend on their new husbands.

These confused legends are, on the very face of them, of modern manufacture, and the manufacturer,—a fervent devotee of Kṛṣṇa,—does not appear to have been a master-hand in his art. The complete severance with the older legends, and the patch-work towards the close, resulting in a half-hearted alliance of Brahmā with Sarasvatī, bespeak a rather weak and an individual hand. But no serious doubt need be entertained that even these novel legends are considerably old, as we find Sarasvatī unquestionably, though not universally, accepted as the wife of Viṣṇu by the side of Lakṣmī, in almost all the images of Viṣṇu hitherto found in Bengal. The rise of a separate school of sculpture in Bengal is synchronistic with the rise of a dynasty of its own kings, viz : the Pālas, about the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and hardly one of the innumerable sculptures found in Bengal can be assigned to an earlier period. The only exception is the unique image of Viṣṇu worshipped at Lakṣmaṇkāṭi in the Bakarganj District noticed *supra* on pages 86—87. Even on this sculpture, Sarasvatī appears seated on a lotus and playing on a lyre of antique pattern. Only the discovery of dated images of Viṣṇu belonging to an even earlier period can enable us in future to find out the true date of the ascription of Sarasvatī to Viṣṇu's wifehood.

Viṣṇu's other wife Kamalā or Lakṣmī has also a very interesting record in the history of image worship in India. The Purāṇas (Kūrma, I. Chap. xiii. Viṣṇu, I. Chap. ix) state that she was born of Khyāti and her father was Bhṛgu. Subsequently she disappeared and was recovered by churning the ocean. This legend of the churning of the ocean has not yet been thoroughly investigated; but as far as is known, it appears to have hardly any root in the Vedic literature.

Probably it is reminiscent of some joint undertaking by the Assyrians and the Indians, and the story seems to have been directly taken up and embedded in the Pauranic literature. Lakṣmī, recovered by churning the ocean and identified with the daughter of Khyāti and Bhṛgu, thus appears to have had a foreign accretion to her personality, which already, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, was an embodiment of beauty and riches. This much is certain that Vedic Viṣṇu had no wife united to him and whatever may be the origin of Lakṣmī, she was united to Viṣṇu in a much later period and has kept her position ever since. Even in the apocryphal *Śrī Sūkta*, (Max-Muller. Ṛg-Veda, 2nd Ed. Vol. IV. P. 523.) the genuine first fifteen verses are silent regarding her wifehood of Viṣṇu, and it is only in the manifestly later fourteen verses that she is invoked in that capacity.

Such was, however, not the case with Sarasvatī. Originally the wife of Brahmā, she was fictitiously united to Viṣṇu. The looseness of the bond is apparent from the fact that several Purāṇas, in their directions for the making of an image of Viṣṇu, direct the substitution of the goddess Pṛthivī in the place of Sarasvatī.*

The swan, which is the vehicle of Brahmā, is found as the vehicle of Sarasvatī in many of her images, a fact that unmistakably points to her original place in the Indian mythology as *Brahmāṇī* or the wife of Brahmā.

Sarasvatī has many different *Dhyānas* or invocations and in some of them, her vehicle Swan does not appear. The museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajsahi has in its collections images of Sarasvatī which show a **ram** as the vehicle of the goddess in the place of the swan. In the *Dhyānas* of the

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* *Vide* the description of $\frac{3A(i)\,c}{5}$ above, in which Pṛthivi occupies the position ordinarily occupied by Sarasvatī.

goddess that have come to my notice, I have not met with the mention of ram as the vehicle of the goddess in any of them. But that the sculptors of Varendrī did not put in ram without proper authority, is evident from some passages in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

There, in the first Brāhmaṇa of the 7th Adhyāya, Kāṇḍa XII, it is related how once Indra became enervated because he had desecrated the Sacrifice and his vital energy began to flow off from all parts of his body. "From his nostrils his vital powers flowed off and became that animal, the ram." (Eggeling's translation, vol. v. S. B. E., vol. XLIV, page 215). The gods, on this, called upon the Aśvins and Sarasvatī to heal Indra. Sarasvatī healed Indra and received the ram as her reward. From that day, the ram has been sacred to Sarasvatī.

Rams or ewes used to be sacrified to Sarasvatī, as is evident from the 7th section of the 2nd Brāhmaṇa :—"He-goats are sacred to the Aśvins, ewes to Sarasvatī, and cows (and bulls) to Indra, they say : if these animals are sacrificed, he (the sacrificer) by means of those deities gains those animals."

It is interesting to note that the custom of sacrificing ram to Sarasvatī still pesists in some parts of the Dacca district, and one of the principal diversions of young people in some villages on the festive day of the worship of Sarasvatī is ram-fight.

The earliest image of Sarasvati hitherto discovered in India appears to be the inscribed one installed by a Jaina devotee at Mathurā, towards the beginning of the Christian Era. The goddess squats on a rectangular seat in an inelegant fashion and is clothed in a loose drapery. She holds a book in her left hand. The upper portion of the image is lost together with the right hand, which is raised and probably had either the *Vyākhyāna Mudrā*, or a pen. On the right side is a male

attendant with a pitcher (*Sudhāḍhya-Kalasa,*—the pitcher of nectar ?). On the left is also another male attendant with hands folded in adoration.

The number of the images of Sarasvatī found in Bengal is not large. I cannot find any individual image of Sarasvatī catalogued in the two catalogues of the Indian Museum of Calcutta. In the catalogue of the Rajsahi Museum, three images of Sarasvatī, found in the districts of Bogra and Rajsahi, are described. Only one of them is entire. The Dacca Museum has an excellent image of Sarasvatī. From the last two images, it is seen that the goddess plays on a *vīṇā* by her two normal hands, while the other right hand and the other left hand hold a rosary and a book respectively.

It is rather curious that not one of her several *Dhyānas* to be found in the different Tantras, corresponds exactly to these images ; the only description that corresponds to the images found in Bengal is contained in the 1st half of verse 16, chapter 50, of the Agnipurāṇa. Here she is described as *Pustākṣa-mālikā-hastā vīṇā-hastā Sarasvatī.* (*i. e.* Sarasvatī should have the Lyre, the Book and the Rosary in her hands).

The Chart on the next page summarises the attributes of Sarasvatī according to the different *Dhyānas.* The eighth variety is distinguished as Pārijāta-Sarasvatī.

$\frac{3\,b\,(i)\,a}{1}$. Image of Sarasvatī in black stone, 1′11″×11″.

It is a beautifully carved image of Sarasvatī. The goddess has four hands. Her normal hands play on the lyre. The other right hand holds the Rosary and in the other left hand is a Book.



Sarasvatī $\frac{3 \text{ B } (1) \text{ a}}{1}$

No.	Attributes in different hands.				Additional characteristics.	Reference.
	1	2	3	4		
1.	Boon	Rosary	Skull	Book (learning)	Body formed of the alphabet.	Sarada Tilak Tantra, 7th *Patala*
2.	Pen	×	×	Book	Appears to be only two-armed.	Ditto.
3.	Attitude of expounding (*Vyakhya-mudra*)	Rosary	Pitcher of nectar.	Book		Ditto.
4.	*Vina*	Rosary	Pitcher of nectar.	Book	Vehicle, the swan	Ditto.
5.	Lotus	Rosary	Lotus	Book		Ditto.
6.	Expounding attitude.	Rosary	Pitcher full of gems	Book		Ditto.
7.	Abstraction	Rosary	Pitcher	Book	Body composed of the alphabet.	Prapanchasara Tantra ch. 7—3
8.	*Vina*	Rosary	Pitcher of nectar.	Book	Vehicle, the swan	Do. ch. 8.
9.	Boon	Rosary	Protection	Book		Agnipurana. chap. 319.
10.	Playing on *vina*	Rosary	Playing on *vina*	Book		Agnipurana. ch. 50.

Chart of the attributes of Sarasvatī.

The goddess sits on a lotus with her right leg pendant, the foot resting on a lotus. Below are carved some elaborate coils of lotus stalks. Swan, the vehicle of the goddess, appears inside the extreme right coil. A devotee with folded hands, is depicted in the left extreme coil. Masses of tangled locks of the goddess are done into a braid, nicely carved and shown on the left side of her head.

The goddess sits under a tri-folio arch and the *Kṛttimukha* is depicted at the top of the piece.

The find-place of the image is note-worthy. Vajrayoginī is at present a big village in the southern part of the tract which anciently was the site of the city of Vikramapura. This village, which comprises 27 hamlets, each known by a different name, has yielded a number of Buddhist images. This fact, together with the name of the village, which is identical with that of a well-known Vajrayana goddess, marks this village out as an ancient seat of the Buddhists. Some ancient mounds in the centre of the village are known as the *Nāstik Paṇḍiter Bhiṭā* or the atheist scholar's home-stead, attached to which is another mound called *Ṭolbāḍīr Bhiṭā* (the school-site). It was from a tank below this school-site that this image of the goddess of learning was found. Atīśa Dīpaṅkara, who went to Tibet from the Vikramaśīlā monastery in 1040 A. D. and reformed Buddhism there, is said to have had his home in Vikramanipur in the country of Bāṅgālā. Vikramanipur appears to be no other than Vikrampur, and popular imagination has associated Atīśa with the atheist scholar who had his home in Vajrayoginī, and near the site of whose school this image was found.

3. B. (ii) IMAGES OF SAKTI.

We have seen above how the cult of the Universal Mother gradually transformed itself into the cult of Śakti, identified with the Energy of Śiva. In the beginning, when the supreme god Viṣṇu lay in Eternal Sleep on his Eternal Bed over limitless Waters, the creator Brahmā sat in meditation over a lotus that had sprung from Viṣṇu's navel. The forces of destruction in the shape of Madhu and Kaiṭabha emerged from the ear-wax of Viṣṇu and started in their attempt to destroy Brahmā, the principle of creation. Then it was that Brahmā invoked the Universal Mother who enveloped Viṣṇu as Mystic Sleep, to leave Viṣṇu and allow him to rise for destroying the forces of evil.

The next episode of the *Devīmāhātmyam* in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa is the killing of the Buffalo demon by the Devī. Here she is the product of the combined energy of all the gods and is thus a true *Śakti* goddess in character. Her vehicle, the lion, appears for the first time in this episode.

The third episode definitely connects Śakti with the cult of Śiva. Two demons, Śumbha and Niśumbha, became powerful and oppressed the gods, who, in their distress, invoked the aid of the Devī who had once before saved them from the oppression of the Buffalo demon. When the gods were praying in this way, Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva, was passing by. She inquired of the gods, whom they were praying to. Then suddenly from the cells of Pārvatī's body sprang *Śivā* (the female counterpart of Śiva) and answered,—" These gods are praying to me." Springing from the cells (*koṣa*) of Pārvatī's body, the goddess became known as Kauṣikī

Whenever the peace of the gods was thus threatened, the Devī manifested herself again and again and assumed various

forms and names to deliver them from the impending danger. Most of these forms are fierce and fighting in character. The Devī is also worshipped under a number of placid forms.

3. B. (ii) a. IMAGE OF MAHAMAYA.

Mr. Gopinath Rao, in his Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. I. part ii, p. 335, translates a passage from the *Devīmāhātmyaṁ* of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, which is not traceable in the *Vaṅgavāsī* Edition of the book. It purports to say that Mahālakṣmī is the Supreme Goddess, and her *Sāttvika*, *Rājsika* and *Tāmasika* manifestations are Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Mahākālī. Each of these three divided herself into a male and a female portion. Mahākāli divided herself into two portions, *viz*: Rudra, the male half, and Sarasvatī, the female half, and became known by various names, of which Mahāmāyā is one. The image described below has a *Liṅga* for the lower half and a goddess deep in meditation for the upper half. She has Rosary and Book in the two upper hands,—both of them attributes of Sarasvatī. The image, therefore, may, with some plausibility, be identified as that of Mahāmāyā. This uuique image was discovered in the ruins of Vikrampnr, within the limits of the ancient capital of the Senas and their predecessors, in the quarter known as Kāgajīpāḍā (the paper-maker's hamlet). It now receives worship in a tiny shrine erected for it in the adjoining hamlet of Murmā.

The image is abont 4 feet in height. The lower part of the image depicts a well-carved *Liṅga* in bold relief. Only half of the upper part of the *Liṅga* is shown, from which emerges the waist of a goddess in profound meditation. The goddess has four arms. The upper right hand gracefully

To face page 192.



Mahāmāyā at Kāgajīpāḍā.

holds a Rosary, and a Book is in her upper left hand. The two normal hands are placed one above the other in a graceful *Dhyāna-mudrā*, beneath the ample breasts.

The symbolism of the figure is sublime and the serene grace and delicacy of this piece of sculpture will be evident even from the imperfect photograph reproduced. The face of the goddess is a wonderful study and the care and ability with which even the minutest parts have been finished, bespeak the hand of a master sculptor. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the image is one of the best products of Bengal sculpture.

In the Kālikā-Purāṇa, ch. 76, verse, 88-93, we come across a form of the goddess which emerged from the *Liṅga.* Under instructions from Śiva, two brothers Vetāla and Bhairava performed austerities for boons from the goddess Mahāmāyā, who at last appeared to the devotees. The appearance is thus described :—

"When the two brothers were worshipping the goddess with *mantra* and deep meditation, the goddess Mahāmāyā rent open the *Liṅga* and came out before them. When she came out of the *Liṅga*, it became divided into three parts, *viz* : Bhairavī, Bhairava and Heruka. Vetāla and Bhairava kept gazing at her form which was exactly like the one they had perceived in their meditation. She was beautiful in all her limbs and had full and firm breasts. She held Rosary and Sword, Boon and Protection in her four hands. She was resplendent like a red lotus and was placed on a white corpse."

The description, unfortunately, does not tally in all the particulars with the present image ; but the description of the image of Tripurā-Bhairavī on page 474 of the same book, where she has a rosary and a book like our image, coupled with the statement on page 480 that Tripurā-

Bhairavī and all other Bhairavīs, as well as the Universal Mother called Yoganidrā or Mahāmāyā are all identical, confirms the identification that the image is that of the Universal Mother Mahāmāyā or Yoganidrā.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, on page 146 of his "Vaisnavism, Saivism and other minor religious systems" makes out that the combined image of Śiva and Śakti is called Tripurā-Sundarī, which appears to be identical with Tripurā-Bhairavī, and the present image can be designated by these names also.

A more satisfactory identification of this unique image, supported by authoritative texts, is greatly to be desired.

3. B. (ii) b. IMAGES OF MAHISA-MARDDINI.

Mahiṣa-marddinī or Durgā, as she is more generally known, is still the most popular goddess in India, especially in Bengal, where her worship is almost a national festival amongst the Hindus.

The story of her origin has already been referred to. It is given in the 2nd chapter of the *Devīmāhātyam* in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa. She is none other than the Universal Mother and she obtained this particular form when the gods invoked her aid against the tyranny of the demon Mahiṣa or Buffalo, who had become so powerful as to occupy the three worlds. The gods in their distress went on deputation to Viṣṇu with Śiva and Brahmā at their head and recounted their sad plight in contest with *Mahiṣa*, the Buffalo demon.

"Thereon, from the faces of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, who were terribly angry, brilliant energies shot forth, as did also from the bodies of all the other gods. These energies

combined and the gods beheld that they united to form a mountain of effulgence, lighting up all the quarters." At last this mass of heavenly energy concentrated into a female form and succeeded in killing the demon Mahiṣa after a stiff contest. Henceforth, this form of the goddess became known as *Mahiṣamarddinī*, the vanquisher of the Buffalo Demon.

The goddess is ordinarily called Durgā or Chaṇḍikā, but she is also called Kātyāyanī, *Ś*ulinī, Bhadrakālī, Ambikā, Vindhyavāsinī, and by various other names. Now-a-days, she is almost invariably represented with ten arms; but in the mediaeval sculptures found in Bengal, she is very often found represented with only eight arms. In the Agni-Purāṇa, chapter 50, there is provision for her representation with ten, sixteen, eighteen or twenty arms. The eight-armed figure is favoured in the Prapañchasāra Tantra (14-24, 14-70, 30-8) and in the Sāradātilaka Tantra (Ch. X and XX).

$3.\frac{B.(ii)b}{I}$ Image of Mahiṣamarddinī in black stone, 33″×17″. The sadly mutilated state in which the image was discovered (from some village in the Madaripur Sub-Division of the Faridpur district) makes it difficult to say whether the goddess was represented with ten or with only eight arms. The probability appears to be in favour of the former assumption. All the arms, however, are broken with the exception of a single right hand drawing an arrow from a full quiver on the back. The goddess is stepping to the left and impetuously attacking the demon Mahiṣa to her left, who has just come out of the decapitated Buffalo, his previous form. The figure of the demon is lost, but the severed head of the Buffalo is depicted below. The lion, the vehicle of the goddess, is represented near her right leg, ready to leap upon its prey. Towards the left of the piece, a demon is seen retreating, fighting with

sword and buckler. To the right, a female attendant similarly armed, is advancing to battle. The goddess is surrounded by flames, rising out of her body.

A male devotee to the left and a female devotee to the right, are depicted below the lotus seat. Mark the band that holds tight the heaving breasts of the goddess.

3.B.(ii) b / 2 Image of Mahiṣamarddinī in sand-stone of a very bad quality, 38″×23″. Found from a tank at the village of Dārindā Rasulpur, under the Matlāb Police Station of the Chandpur Sub-Division of the Tippera district, along with a fine image of Viṣṇu in black chlorite.

The quality of the stone used is so bad that the image has been worn off to an extraordinary degree. Though the image itself has hardly sustained any injury, nothing beyond the bare outlines of the sculpture is recognisable.

The goddess has ten arms. The figure of the demon is depicted fully emerged out of the decapitated Mahiṣa, but the right leg still remains within its trunk.

[1. Image of an eight-armed Mahiṣamarddinī in black stone, worshipped as *Ādyā*, in the famous temple of Mādhava at Dhāmrāi (*supra*, p. 86. No 7.) in the Dacca District. It has a short inscription on the pedestal which appears to read—

তেশ্রী খুল্মনীকস্য চণ্ডীকা ॥

The Chaṇḍīkā of the illustrious Khulmanīka.

The script is of the 12th century A. D.

2. A ten-armed image of Mahiṣamarddinī in black stone, in the house of Babu Rasika Chandra Ghaṭaka, B. L., at Bāligāon. P. S. Ṭaṅgībāḍī, Dt. Dacca.]

3. Image of Kātyāyanī in the house of the zamindars of Madhavpāśā, in the Bakarganj district. Tradition has it that this image was fished out of the now-lost river Sugandhā, that



(a) Mahiṣamarddinī. 3. B. (ii) b
1



(b) Kātyāyanī of Mādhavpāśā.

used to flow through the Bakarganj district, by Danujamarddana, the founder of the royal family of Chandradvīpa, (the old name of the Bakarganj District) about 500 years ago. (*vide* '*Bāklā*' by Babu Rohinī Kumāra Sena, p. 153.)

It is an eight-armed image of Mahiṣamarddinī in black stone. The attributes of the arms are (clock-wise) :—1. Discus. 2. Trident, striking the breast of the demon. 3. Arrow (being plucked from the quiver on the back.) 4. Sword. 5. Index-finger, raised (*Tarjjanī-mudrā*). 6. Buckler. 7. Bow. 8. The hairs of the demon. The attributes agree with the *Dhyāna* given in the Prapañchasāra-Tantra, 30/8, except the last item, for which Prapañchasāra has *Saṁkha*, the conch-shell. We have, however, the authority of the Agni-Purāṇa (50/12) in which it is directed that the goddess should seize the hairs of the demon by one of her hands.

4. A splendid ten-armed image of Mahiṣamarddinī in black stone, about 4′ 6″ in height, worshipped in the house of a gentleman at Śāktā, a village about five miles to the south-west of Dacca. The image is reported to have been discovered in the village several years ago.

The image, which is in a perfect state of preservation, is one of excellent proportions and is a pleasing work of art. The technique, however, is rather devoid of lightness and energy. The left leg of the demon is depicted as still within the trunk of the decapitated buffalo, while the lion, the vehicle of the goddess, has pounced upon his right leg. The goddess has seized the locks of the demon by her left hand and is piercing his breast with a *Śūla*, held in her right hand. A female attendant on either side of the goddess is depicted fighting, sword and buckler in the hands. Clockwise, the following are the attributes of the goddess.

1. A pointed weapon, the *sūchī* ? 2. Discus. 3. Arrow. 4. Sword. 5. Javelin, piercing the breast of the

demon. 6. The locks of the demon. 7. Buckler. 8. Bow. 9. Axe. 10. *Aṅkuśa*, (elephant-goad). A *Kṛttimukha* is at the top.

There is a short inscribed label on the pedestal in the characters of the 12th century A. D., which reads—*Śrī Māṣikā chaṇḍī.* It is not clear what may be the meaning of the qualifying term *māṣikā*].

3. B. (ii) c. IMAGES OF GAURI.

The Brahmavaivartta-Purāṇa, *Prakṛti-khaṇḍam*, chapter 57, opens with an enumeration of the various names of Durgā. They are :—1. Durgā. 2. Nārāyaṇī. 3 Īśānī. 4. Viṣṇumāyā. 5. Śivā. 6. Satī. 7. Nityā. 8. Satyā. 9. Bhagavatī. 10. Sarvānī. 11. Sarvvamaṅgalā 12. Ambikā. 13. Vaiṣṇavi. 14. Gaurī. 15. Pārvvati. 16. Sanātanī. The explanations of all these names are also given. It appears that most of these are placid forms of Durgā.

Among the images found in Bengal, some placid forms of Durgā have long been recognised, but they have hitherto hardly been correctly identified. One of the commonest forms of the images of Durgā that are found in the country, has four arms, holding in the hands clock-wise Boon (or Pomegranate), Rosary (sometimes along with a Liṅga), Trident (or Mirror), Protection (or Vase) and she has an alligator for her vehicle. Kārttikeya and Ganeśa, the two sons of Durgā, are sometimes found accompanying her. The catalogue of the Rajsahi museum describes nine such images. Two images of this class are in the Dacca museum while some three or more, are known to exist in the villages of the Dacca district.

The guide-book issued by the Varendra Research Society of Rajsahi in 1912, classed these images as Bhavānī—



Mahiṣamarddinī at Sāktā.
(In an artistic brass casing about a century old.)

apparently from the find of an image of this class in a village called Chak-Bhavānī. In the new catalogue of 1919, they have been designated with the general appellation of Chaṇḍī.

The absence of a proper *Dhyāna* of these images in the *Tantras* in common vogue in Bengal, is rather surprising and gives rise to the suspicion that the sculptors of Bengal used some particular *Śilpaśāstra*, which we have not yet been able to recover.

Certain passages of the "*Rūpamaṇḍanam*" quoted by Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao in his Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. 1, part ii, appendix c, pages 113 and 120, help us in identifying these images.

The passage on page 113 states that the image of Gaurī is to be represented with an alligator as her vehicle and she may have a swan in its place at option. The passage on page 120 furnishes further details, and is translated below *in extenso*.

"Now I shall speak on the points of identification of the images of *Gaurī*, which have four arms, three eyes and are bedecked with all ornaments.

"The image which holds (in her four hands) Rosary, Lotus, Mirror and Water-pot, is called *Umā* and is worshipped even by the gods.

"The goddess that has Rosary, Siva-Liṅga, Image of Gaṇeśa, and Waterpot in her hands and is placed between two pyres of fire, is called *Pārvvatī*.

"The image that has Rosary, Lotus, Boon and Protection in her four hands, and whose vehicle is the alligator should be worshipped in homes for worldly advancement."

It will appear from the above passages that when installed as a family goddess, the image should have an alligator as her vehicle. The presumption is, that she may not have this feature when installed in a temple for public worship. It is

noteworthy that some of the images hitherto found, do not show any vehicle. The image No. $\frac{D(a)1}{11}$ of the Rajsahi museum does not appear to have the vehicle alligator, but exhibits the nine planets instead.

The attributes of the three varieties of the images of Gaurī, then, are as follows :—

Gaurī :—Boon, Rosary, Lotus, Protection.

Umā :—Lotus, Rosary, *Mirror*, Waterpot.

Pārvvatī :—Rosary, *Liṅga*, Gaṇeśa, Waterpot.

The images found in Bengal almost invariably have the rosary in the upper right hand and the Trident in the upper left hand ; but the attributes of the other two hands vary. There is a distinct variety of these images in which the rosary in the upper right hand is accompanied by a *Śiva-Liṅga*. On the strength of this distinctive attribute, these images may be classed as Pārvvatī, though they do not tally in all the particulars required by the Rūpamaṇḍanam in the Pārvvatī images. The rather rare image in which the usual trident is replaced by a mirror (Rajsahi Museum, No. $\frac{D(a)6}{273}$) in the upper left hand, should, on similar grounds, be taken as an image of Umā. The rest should have the common appellation of Gaurī.

In some of the images of Gaurī, the vehicle alligator looks like a mongoose. The ignorance of the sculptor is perhaps responsible for the deviation.

$\frac{3.\ B.\ (ii)\ c}{1}$. Image of Gaurī in *octo-alloy* metal, $7'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. It is a finely preserved image, very well-executed and of considerable artistic merit. The face of the goddess has a kind of benevolent motherliness and goodliness in its expression. She wears the *Jaṭāmukuṭa* and has, clockwise,—Fruit, Rosary, Trident (looking like the branch of a tree with three offshoots) and Vase in her four hands,

PLATE LXVII.

TO FACE P. 20[illegible]



Gaurī. [illegible]



(b) Gaurī from Arial.
(Vide addendum.)



(a) Gaurī at Pāikpāḍā.

The vehicle alligator is depicted near the lotus pedestal, to the proper left, moving towards the left of the spectator.

Found from a tank near the High-school compound at Sonāraṅg, P. S. Taṅgīvāḍī, Dt. Dacca.

Presented by Babu Śaśī Kumāra Sena of Sonāraṅg.

$\frac{3. B. (ii) c}{2}$. Image of Gaurī in greenish soap-stone, 30″×17″. The portion below the knee is broken away and lost. The image is much weather-worn. The goddess holds, clockwise,—Boon, Rosary, Trident (branch-like) and Vase.

Found somewhere in the village of Vajrayoginī, P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca, and presented by Rai Rameśa Chandra Guha Bahadur.

[1. A splendid image of Gaurī in black stone, about 5′ in height, preserved in the house of the Khāsnabis family of Pāikpārā, P. S. Taṅgīvāḍī, District Dacca, and discovered from a ditch close by.

The goddess has a smiling countenance. She wears the *Jaṭāmukuṭa* and has, (clockwise), Boon, Rosary, Trident and Protection. A female attendant stands on either side. The one to the proper right has a long-handled axe in her left hand and a Rosary in the right. The left one has a fly-whisk in her right hand ; the left hand is broken. An animal (alligator ?) looking very much like a mongoose occupies the space below the lotus pedestal. Two devotees are depicted on the right side of the mongoose and a pair of antelopes, reposing, appear on either side.]

3. B. (ii) d. IMAGES OF PARVVATI.

As already noted in the previous section, *Liṅga* along with the rosary in the upper right hand of the goddess, should be recognised as the distinctive feature of this variety of the

images of the Gaurī class. The Dacca museum has no image of this variety in its collection. The two images noted below, both lie in the mofussil.

[1. Image of Pārvvatī in black stone, about 12″ in height. Very crude. Has in her four hands, clockwise,— 1. Boon; 2. Rosary, with the Liṅga; 3. Trident; 4. Broken. Gaṇeśa with his vehicle, the rat, is to her right, and Kārttikeya, with his vehicle the peacock, is to her left. The vehicle of the goddess herself, placed below her lotus seat, looks more like a squirrel than any thing else.]

[2. Image of Pārvvatī in black stone worshipped in a temple called Śiv-vāḍī at the village of Dāśorā near Manikganj, District Dacca. The goddess has Gaṇeśa to her right and Kārttikeya to her left, as in the foregoing image. But in some images, this order is found reversed. Her attributes appear to be I. Boon; 2. Rosary and Liṅga; 3. Trident; 4. Vase.

3. B. (ii) e. IMAGE OF CHANDI.

The unique four-armed image of Chaṇḍī described below was found in the ruins of Rāmpāl in the Dacca District. It was obtained by the late Babu Baikuṇṭhanātha Sena along with a number of other images, and presented to the late Babu Jīvana Chandra Rāya who erected a temple for this fine image and istalled it there. The temple is situated on the Farasganj road of this town, a little to the east of the Northbrooke Hall.

The goddess has a springing lion as her vehicle and on her either side is a female attendant with fly whisks. Two elephants, with water from up-turned pitchers held by their trunks, are bathing the goddess from above.



Inscribed image of Chaṇḍī at Dacca, with an inscription of the 3rd year of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

Her attributes are,—clockwise, 1. Boon; 2. Elephant-goad; 3. Lotus; 4. Vase.

Fortunately, the image is inscribed with an inscription of historical importance. (J. A. S. B. 1913, p. 290, plates XXIII and XXIV). The inscription says that the image was begun in the 3rd year of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena Deva by the *Adhikṛta* Dāmodara and was installed next year by his younger brother Nārāyaṇa. The year of the installation is, therefore, *circa* 1174 A. D. The inscription calls the goddess simply *Chaṇḍīdevī*. I have not been able to lay hands on her exact *Dhyāna*.

In the Sāradātilaka Tantra, ch. 8, there are several invocations of the goddess Bhuvaneśvarī, a form of the *Śakti* of Śiva. In one invocation, she has Boon, Protection, Red lotus and Vase full of riches as attributes, while another gives her attributes as Boon, Elephant-goad, Lasso, and Protection. The present image seems to have compounded the attributes of these two invocations, and taken out, Boon, Elephant goad, Red lotus and Vase of fortune from them. The image may, therefore, be tentatively identified as that of Bhuvaneśvarī.

3. B. (ii) f. IMAGE OF SARVVANI.

Sarvvāṇī, as already noted in the section on Gaurī, is one of the 16 names given to Durgā in the Brahmavaivartta Purāṇa. The only image of this class hitherto found in the eastern districts appears to be the inscribed image of the goddess discovered about twenty years ago in demolishing some ancient ruins in the village of Deulvāḍī under the Chauddagrām Police Station of the Tippera district, situated about 20 miles south of Comilla. In its company were found a fine *octo-alloy* statuette of the sun-god (*supra*, p. 172) and some Liṅgas, one of which was inscribed (*supra*, p. 143).

The inscription on the pedestal of the image designates the goddess as Sarvvaṇī and gives us the interesting information that the image was gilt with leaves of gold by Queen Prabhāvatī, wife of king Deva-khaḍa, who ruled in Eastern India towards the end of the 7th century A. D. Patches of original gilding still cling to the image and have come out white in the photograph. The veneration of the Brahmanical goddess Sarvvāṇī by the wife of a king who is known to have been a devout Buddhist, bespeaks the absence of narrow bigotry during the period,

The image is of the usual *octo-alloy* metal, about 20″ in height and rather heavy. A portion of the rim of the top towards the proper left is broken away and lost. The image is cast in low relief. The technique is somewhat crude and the pose rigid. The goddess has eight arms. The hands hold clockwise,—Arrow, Sword, Discus, Conch-shell Trident, Bell, Shield and Bow. A maid is on her either side holding fly whisks. The goddess stands on a lotus seat, on the back of a couchant lion with a well-executed head.

The attributes of the goddess are those that are given to the images of Mahiṣa-marddinī, with the only difference that they have the *Tarjjanī-mudrā* in one of their left hands, while this goddess has a Bell instead. The following invocation in the Sāradā-tilakā-tantra, ch. XI, is addressed to the goddess whose vehicle is a lion and who is variously called, Bhadra-Durgā, Bhadra-kālī, Ambikā, Vedagarbhā and Kṣemaṅkarī :

কালপাবকসন্নিভাং কলিতার্দ্ধচন্দ্রশিরোরুহাং
ভালনেত্রবিভীষণাং ভয়দায়িসিংহনিষেদুষীং ।
চক্র-শঙ্খ-কৃপাণ-খেটক-চাপ-বাণ-করোটিকা-
শূলবাহিভুজাং ভজে বিজিতাখিলাসুরসৈনিকাং ॥

I adore the goddess who is like the fire of destruction, whose hairs are restrained by the crescent moon, whose brow and eyes



Inscribed Sarvvāṇī from Deulvāḍī.

are terrible to look at, who rides on an awe-inspiring lion, who holds in her hands Discus, Conch-shell, Sword, Shield, Bow, Arrow, Skull and Trident, and who has defeated the entire army of the demons.

This *Dhyāna* may very well be applied to the present image. In place of the Skull of the invocation, Sarvvāṇī has the Bell in one of her hands.*

The image catalogued as $\frac{D.(c)1}{133}$ in the Rajsahi Museum Catalogue, appears to be an image of this class.

3. B. (ii) g. IMAGE OF UGRA-TARA.

This unique image known as the Tārā of Śikārpur is worshipped in the village of Śikārpur in the Bakarganj district, and the place of worship is recognised in some texts as a *Pīṭhasthāna* or one of the 51 recognised centres of the Śākta form of worship in India.

The details of the worship of Tārā are to be found in the *Tārā-tantra* published by the Varendra-Research Society of Rajsahi and in the 4th chapter of the *Mantra-mahodadhi-tantra*. Tara-tantra quotes (Pages 11—12, foot-note) prose explanation of the image of Tara from *Tārārahasya-vṛttikā*, and Mantramahodadhi has a more concise invocation in verse. It appears from these that Ugra-Tārā should be represented standing on a white lotus rising from the depths of all-prevading waters. She should have the Knife, the Sword, the Blue Lotus and the Skull as attributes in her four hands. She should have three bloodshot eyes, diverse ornaments as well as snakes decorating her body, the colour of which

* Sāradā-tilaka is a compilation, full three centuries later than the date of the present image. But compilations, as is well-known, always incorporate earlier compositions.

should be bluish. Her hair should be thrown up in a single braid. Her tongue should protrude out and her teeth should be prominent, giving a terrible appearance to her countenance. Her waist should be covered by the hide of an elephant. She should wear a necklace of skulls. Her brow should be adorned with a flat piece of white bone. An image of Śiva (Akṣobhya) should be on her head, and she should have firm breasts and a smiling expression. She should tread on a corpse placed between two lotuses.

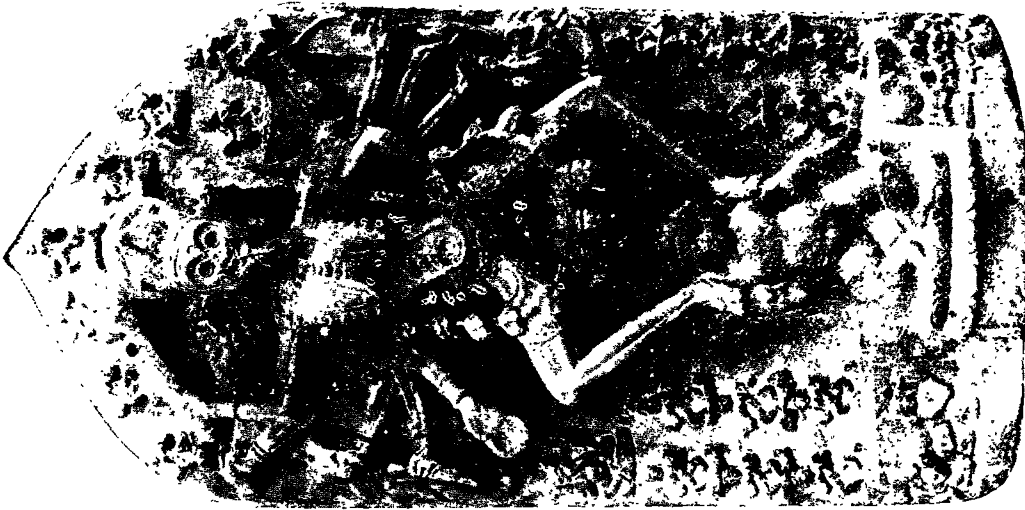
The Tārā of Śikārpur shows nearly all the above particulars. Five miniatures are depicted above her head. The topmost one is of Śiva. To his right is Brahmā, and to his left are the figures of the Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa. The remaining figure is probably of Viṣṇu.

The pedestal depicts six votaries, some male and some female. A maid appears on either side of the goddess.

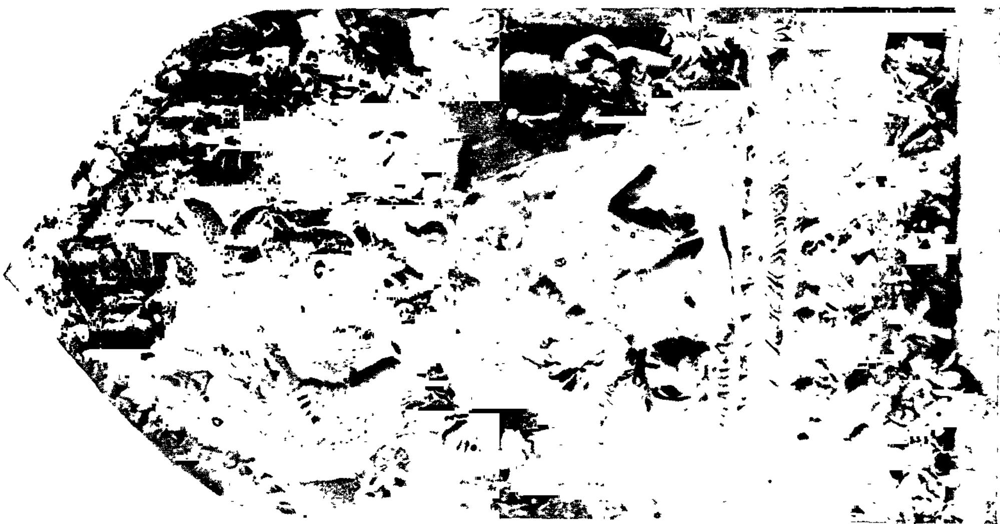
A perusal of the explanation of the Tārā image, as well as a study of the image described above gives rise to a strong presumption that this Ugra Tārā of the Brahmanical pantheon is a direct importation from the Buddhistic,—colour, attributes, parental Buddha Akṣobhya, and all. The arrangement of the five miniatures over the head of Ugra-Tārā is also reminiscent of the five Dhyānī Buddhas of the Buddhistic images. Akṣobhya, the Buddha from whom Ugra-Tārā emanates is explained as the one whom no commotion can disturb, *i. e.* Śiva ; and thus he passes without question on the crest of the Tārā of the Brahmanical Pantheon.*

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* This portion of the present work was written in 1919. I find that Pandit Hirananda Sastri has also noticed this Buddhistic origin of Tārā in the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey, No. 11,—"Some recently added sculptures in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow", published in 1922.



(b) Chāmuṇḍā. $\frac{3. B. (ii) h}{1}$



(a) Ugra-Tārā of Śikārpur.

3. B. (ii) h.

IMAGES OF CHAMUNDA.

The origin of Chāmuṇḍā is described in the third episode of the *Devīmāhātmyam* of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa. The two demon brothers Śumbha and Niśumbha grew powerful and ousted the gods from their possessions. The gods repaired to the Supreme Goddess and invoked Her assistance against the demons. Thereupon, the goddess Kauṣikī sprang from the body of the Supreme Goddess and assumed a dazzlingly beautiful form. Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, two servants of Śumbha and Niśumbha, reported to their masters about the beautiful manifestation. Śumbha, struck with the story of the beauty of the goddess, resolved to possess her and sent emissaries to the goddess to persuade her to become his mistress. The goddess, thus approached, scoffingly replied that she would accept only him as her husband who would be a match for her in strength and would conquer her in battle. Śumbha, thereupon, ordered a servant of his to seize the goddess by force, but he was speedily reduced by her to ashes. On this, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa were ordered to go and seize the goddess.

The sight of Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa greatly incensed the goddess. "From her brow contracted by frowns, suddenly sprang forth a goddess, black and scowling, with drawn sword and lasso, holding a mace (*Khaṭvāṅga*), wearing a necklace of skulls, clothed in a tiger-skin, grim with emaciation, mouth hideously distorted and the tongue protruding out. Her eyes were red and sunken and she started a terrible uproar that filled the quarters."

This grim goddess began to swallow elephants with riders and all, chariots with horses and occupants, and Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa were quickly worsted. The goddess picked up the heads of Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa and presented them to her

originator Kauṣikī, who bestowed on her the epithet Chāmuṇḍā in recognition of her achievements.

Images of Chāmuṇḍā are fairly common in Bengal. The following are the general characteristics of these images. *

She should be like a skeleton in appearance,—flesh dried up, bones showing through the skin, eyes sunken and abdomen contracted. Her hairs should be standing on end with snakes peeping out from them. She should be laughing horribly, with the teeth prominent and the tongue protruding out. She should wear a necklace of skulls and bones. She should be dressed in a tiger's skin and have a corpse and an owl as her vehicles. Her abode should be in a funeral ground under a *Vaṭa* tree. She should hold behind her the skin of an elephant. She should be of dark or blue colour, but in one form she should be blood-red. In another form, she has an ass for her vehicle. Sometimes a vulture is represented on her banner.

She may be represented standing, dancing, squatting, or sitting with one leg pendant.

All that is terrible and repulsive has been brought together in conceiving this goddess of the *Śāktas.* She symbolises universal Death and Destruction. Curiously, this grim goddess also has the Boon and the attitude which says "Fear not" (=*Abhaya*), as two of her attributes, and her representations in stone that are met with in the country, have all of them an indescribable expression of ultimate assurance and benignity in them ! In place of the motionless corpse, some images have a fat and plump boy as the vehicle. The boy has a smiling face and the attitude of assurance

*References are to Agni-Purāṇa, ch. 50/21-22 and 30-37; ch. 144/30-37. Matsya-Purāṇa, ch. 261/33-37. Also passages of Aṁśubhedāgama, Viṣṇu-dharmmottara and Pūrva-Kāraṇāgama quoted in Rao's Hindu Iconography, vol. I. Part II, Appendix C, pp. 151-152.

(*Abhaya-mudrā*) in his right hand,—as if he represented throbbing life and hopefulness,—as if he kept assuring that the last word in creation was not Death, but Life, and Life ever-renewing.

The ordinary image of Chāmuṇḍā has four hands. By the right two, she holds Javelin and Knife and the left two hold Skull and Spear. (Agni-Purāṅa. 50/21-22). The Aṁśubhedāgama, referred to above, makes out her attributes as Skull, Javelin, Boon, and Assurance of Protection. The Pūrvakāraṇāgama, on the other hand, has Skull, Javelin, Fire and Snake as her four attributes. The second image (see below) in the Dacca Museum appears to have been an image of this class.

The Agni-Purāṇa enumerates the following eight varieties of the forms of Chāmuṇḍā. They are called the *Eight Mothers.*

1. *Rudra-Charchchikā.* She appears to have six arms which hold in the hands Skull, Knife, Javelin and Lasso and the two ends of an Elephant's Skin. She is described as "posing with head and feet thrown up." The six-armed images of Chāmuṇḍā, catalogued as No. $\frac{D(d)7}{334}$ and No. $\frac{D(d)10}{230}$ in the Rajsahi Museum Catalogue, appear to be images of this class. It is noteworthy that the second image is inscribed "*Charchikā*" in ancient characters of the 11th-12th century A. D.

2. *Rudra-Chāmuṇḍā.* She has eight arms and a Human Head and a Kettle-drum in addition to the attributes of Rudra-Charchchikā. The image illustrated in the 2nd part of *Vīrabhūma-vivaraṇa* (Bengali) published by the Birbhum Research Society, against page 124, and called Fuleśvarī Devī, appears to be an image of this class. The attributes, however, do not all agree.

3. *Mahālakṣmī.* She also has eight arms, but she should be sitting and have four faces. The images illustrated in the

Archaeological Survey Report of Mayurbhanj by Mr. N. N. Vasu, against pages lxvi and lxviii, appear to be images of this class. But they do not appear to have four faces.

4. *Siddha-Chāmuṇḍā.* She has ten arms. The right hands hold Javelin, Sword, Kettle-drum and Bone. The left hands hold Shield, Bell, Mace (*Khaṭvāṅga*) and Trident and the remaining two hands probably hold the two ends of the Elephant's Skin. Nos. 3, 5 and 6 of the Rajsahi Museum appear to be images of this class, as well as the one illustrated against page 144 of *Vīrabhūma-vivaraṇa*, Part II. This class is represented as both sitting and standing.

5. *Siddha-Yogeśvarī.* She has twelve arms, adding Lasso and Elephant-goad to the attributes of the last image. It should be noted that lasso has a lready once been counted (No. 1). The next form Rūpavidyā also has twelve arms. There is no instruction in the texts as to how to differentiate these two forms. Of the twelve-armed images of Chāmuṇḍā, some are represented standing, some sitting. This difference in pose probably differentiates the two classes. If we take the standing form as Siddha-Yogeśvarī, the seated form will then be Rūpavidyā.

As already noted, the texts give Siddha-Yogeśvarī an extra lasso. The standing twelve-armed image of Chāmuṇḍā in the Dacca Museum, however, represents the goddess as cutting between her teeth the nail of the small-finger of a left hand, instead of repeating the lasso. This appears to be a more reasonable representation of the form we have styled Siddha-Yogeśvarī, than the one with the unmeaning repetition of the lasso. Rajsahi Museum No. 1 also appears to be an image of this class.

6. *Rūpa-vidyā.* As already stated, she also has 12 arms like the last image, but probably she is to be represented

sitting. If that is so, Rajsahi Museum No. 2 may be an image of this class.

7. *Kṣamā*. She has only two arms. She should be represented as an old woman, with lips apart, and surrounded by jackals. An image of this class does not appear to have yet been discovered in Bengal.

8. *Danturā*. She should be represented as squatting on the ground with a hand on her knee. An image of this class discovered at Aṭṭahāsa, in the Burdwan district, is now in the Museum of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*. It was illustrated in the journal of the *Pariṣat*, vol. XXII, page 28. It is a marvellously well-executed piece of sculpture.

Besides these, two other varieties of Chāmuṇḍā can be distinguished. One is called Kālikā. She should be represented naked, with a necklace of skulls, and sitting on an ass. (Matsya-Purāṇa, 261/33-37). Rajsahi Museum No. 9, inscribed in ancient characters *Piśitāśanā*, appears to be an image of this class. The other is an elaborate image with six heads and other intricate details called Kubjikā, described in the Agni-Purāṇa, 144/30-37.

$\frac{3.\ B.\ (ii)\ h}{1}$. A twelve-armed image of Chāmuṇḍā of the Siddha-Yogeśvarī class, in greyish-black stone, 30″×17″.

The six right hands carry,—Boon, Knife, Kettle-drum, one end of the Elephant-skin, Arrow and Sword. Of the six left hands, the small finger of the first is raised to the lips,—the goddess is biting off its nail. The rest carry Bow, one end of the Elephant-skin, Skull, Corpse and Trident.

The goddess stands in the *Tribhaṅga* pose on the shoulders of a plump boy who is smiling and making the gesture, "Fear not." The locks of the goddess are thrown up and snakes are peeping out from them. The goddess has a necklace composed of skulls and pieces of bone, and she wears

a tiger's skin. The ear-rings of the goddess appear to be snakes. The trunk of a *Vaṭa* tree appears behind the goddess, but no owl is seen as her vehicle.

Found somewhere in the ruins of Rāmpāl, in Vikrampur in the Dacca District, and after many vicissitudes, obtained for the Dacca Museum.

$\frac{3.\ B.\ (ii)\ h}{2}$. Statuette of Chāmuṇḍā in black stone. The upper portion is broken away and lost. The portion that remains measures, 3″×4″.

The goddess sits with the right leg pendant over a prostrate bearded corpse. She had probably 4 arms, of which two only remain. The right hand carries a Knife ; the left hand is placed on the left knee. If she had only two arms originally the second attribute would be in favour of, identifying her as a representation of Danturā. A jackal to the proper right is biting at the corpse.

From the Raghurāmpur excavation.

3. B. (ii) i. MANASA.

The snake-goddess Manasā is now universally identified with Jaratkāru, the sister of the Nāga king Vāsukī. The story of Jaratkāru is well-known. It occurs thrice in the first book of the Mahābhārata—first, in chapters 13th—16th ; then again in chapters 38th—40th ; finally, in chapters 46th—48th.

Kadru and Vinatā were the two wives of the Patriarch Kaśyapa. From Kadru were born the snakes. Vinatā gave birth to Aruṇa, the charioteer of the Sun-god, and Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu. Incensed at an act of disobedience of her sons, Kadru once cursed them with destruction by fire at the

snake-killing sacrifice of King Janmejaya. The snakes subsequently met in conference to devise means of escaping from the consequences of this awful curse. Elāpatra, a Nāga chief, declared that he had come to know through a vision that the Saint Āstika, born of their sister Jaratkāru, married to a Brahmin husband of the same name, would save them from this threatened destruction. Vāsukī, the Nāga-chief, was thereupon requested to bring up this sister carefully and to keep a sharp look-out for the arrival of the Brahmin Jaratkāru.

Jaratkāru belonged to a clan of nomad (*yāyāvara*) Brahmins, who never had a settled home, but roamed from one holy place to another. Begetting an offspring is religiously incumbent on all householders, but this Brahmin Jaratkāru had never given his attention to marriage and settled life. A vision of his forefathers losing their places in heaven for his childlessness, at last induced this globe-trotter to think of marriage. But he would, he resolved, marry only under certain conditions. The girl must be of the same name as himself ; she must be offered to him unsolicited ; he shall not be required to maintain her, and, finally, he would be at liberty to forsake her on her first offence.

The agents of Vāsukī who were watching for the appearence of Jaratkāru and this turn of his mind, now informed Vāsukī who forthwith arrived and offered Jaratkāru his sister. When the saint was satisfied that the girl was of the same name and when the bride's party accepted all his conditions, the marriage took place and all went well for some time. The sister of the Nāga king came to be with child, but now an accident happened. One day the patient wife gave offence to the touchy saint by calling him off from an untimely sleep. The sage was in great rage and prepared to leave his wife for good. He assured the disconsolate wife that a great sage would be born to her and went

away. But the purpose of the Nāgas had been served. The Sage Āstika was born to Jaratkāru and he subsequently saved the Nāgas from extermination in the Snake-sacrifice of Janmejaya, by begging of the king the cessation of the sacrifice.

This, in brief, is the story as narrated in the Mahābhārata. The Nāgas, as is well-known, were a powerful race of primitive people, probably of Mongolian origin, who inhabited large tracts of India, when the Aryans entered India and began to spread. The story of the snake-sacrifice probably keeps alive the memory of a determined effort on the part of the conquering Aryans to oust the Nāgas from the plains of Northern India. Outlying regions like Manipur and Kasmir became the resorts of the Nāgas ousted from the plains. Vāsukī, the king of the Nāgas, is said to have been ruling over the regions watered by the Godavari. The Nāgas cursed by their mother went to live in swampy lands at the mouth of the Ganges. (Hopkins ; p. 27). This shows the direction that some of the worsted Nāgas took in their search for resorts, safe from Aryan aggression.

The hatred and contempt with which the Aryans regarded the Nāgas, are evident throughout the Mahābhārata. Even the best of the Nāgas did not escape it. This is evidenced by the statement in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (6th Pañchikā, chapter 26, part I) that the Sarpa-ṛṣi (evidently a seer of the Nāga tribe) Arbbuda, son of Kadru, though allowed to supplement a deficiency in the Vedic performance, was blindfolded before he was suffered to approach the sacred Soma. Arbbuda, it may be noted, is the name of a Nāga in the Mahābhārata who was an inhabitant of Magadha. The qualification found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that he was a son of Kadru bears testimony to the antiquity of the tradition found in the Mahābhārata that the Nāgas were descended from Kadru.

Mythologically, the Nāgas are to be recognised as belonging to the sphere of Varuṇa, the lord of the waters, figuring as his sons or his creatures. They are divine beings but looking like men, with a number of hoods over their heads. They guard all kinds of watery areas, such as tanks, rivers and lakes. It is in this capacity that we find the Nāgas worshipped in India during the early centuries of the Christian Era in the regions round Mathura. In the eighth year of the reign of Kaniṣka, a tank and a garden were dedicated to the divine *Bhūmināga*.[1] In the 26th year, a stone slab was put up at the shrine of *Dadhikarṇa*, the divine lord of the Nāgas.[2] In the year 40 of the Kuṣāṇa Era, in the reign of Huviṣka, the two friends Senahastī and Bhoṇuka erected and placed inside their common tank a splendid statue of a Nāga, undistinguished by any proper name.[3] Another image of a Nāga, consecrated in the year 52 of the Kuṣāṇa Era, is now in the Mathura Museum.[4] It would appear that during this period, the worship of the Nāgas was a very much living cult and one that had a recognised place in the society by the side of the active cults of the Jina and the Buddha. The shrine of Dadhikarṇa at Mathura appears to have been a flourishing establishment, one of whose servants was rich enough to present a pillar to the Buddhist *Vihāra* erected close by, in the reign of Huviṣka.[5] It is interesting to note that the name Dadhikarṇa occurs in the list of the Nāgas in the

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1. Epigraphia Indica. Vol. XVII. Part I. P. 10—12.
2. Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India. 1908—9. P. 159.
3. Ibid. P. 160. 4. Ibid. P. 161.
5. Indian Antiquary, 1904, Vol. XXXIII, P. 102.

Harivaṁśa[1] and also in the commentary by the author himself on the *Abhidhānachintāmani* by Hemachandra, verse 1311.

This phase of the Nāga worship is still current throughout India and is falling into comparative disuse only in the modern days. Formerly, it was incumbent on any one digging a considerable tank to erect a *nāgakāṣṭha* exactly in the middle of the tank at the time of its consecration. Generally the top of a strong and tall pole was fashioned out like a cobra and this pole was placed in the middle of the tank. The Nāga was thus installed as the guardian of the tank. The famous *Dharmmasāgara* of Comilla excavated by Dharmma-māṇikya, Rajah of Tippera, has its Nāga-kāṣṭha still in position. So has the big tank called *Kodāl-dhoā* at Rampal in the Munsiganj Sub-Division of the Dacca District. In these days, new tanks are seldom dug, and even when dug, very seldom consecrated. But the erection of a Nāga-Kāṣṭha in the centre of the newly-excavated tank is even now a compulsory part of the ceremony of consecration.

The worship of the snake-goddess Manasā, as was, and is still prevalent in Bengal, appears to have very little connection with this general Nāga worship. The Nāgas, as far as can be ascertained, appear to be all male divinities and this conception of a female divinity Manasā as a sort of queen over the snakes, appears to be foreign to this system of Nāga worship.

Manasā, as already noted, is now generally identified with Jaratkāru ; but, curiously, in the Mahābhārata there is no indication of the deification of Jaratkaru, mother of Āstika,

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1. Harivaṁśam : Viṣṇuparvam, Ch. 109, Verse 20. P. 339, Vaṅgavāsī edition. The text has *nāgarāḍadhikarṇaścha* which should be corrected to *nāgarāja-dadhikarṇah.*

as a snake-goddess,—*i.e.* mother of the snakes, (*nāgamātā*) and mistress over them. Neither is she credited with the possession of the Supreme Knowledge (*mahājñāna*) nor the power of counteracting poison, the two most prominent characteristics of the snake goddess Manasā. The term "mother of the snakes" in the Mahābhārata always denotes Kadru.

In the Brāhmaṇas (Aitareya, 5/24/4 ; Śatapatha, 1/4/29), we meet with the term *Sarparājñī* which literally means—queen of the snakes. She was the seer of a hymn of the Ṛg-Veda, X—189. But the connection of this Sarparājñī with snakes is not unquestioned. Sāyana explains that Sarparājñī was the Earth, incarnate as a goddess, who attained the knowledge of *Brahma*, the Supreme Soul, in that guise. One commentator, Mahīdhara, however, states that the term denoted Kadru in the guise of Earth.[1] It may also be noted that Kadru is given as a synonym for Manasā in the dictionaries. Thus, it appears, that the first identification of Manasā, the snake-goddess, was not with Jaratkāru, but with Kadru. Subsequently, however, as in the Brahmavaivartta-Purāṇa, attempts were made to fit in Manasā with Jaratkāru and give the latter a deified character.

There is no doubt that the snake-goddess Manasā occupies a somewhat indefinite position in the Brahmanical pantheon. The name does not appear to occur in the Mahābhārata or Pāṇini or Amarakoṣa. The mediæval grammarians and lexicographers mention the name, the former citing it as an illustration of an irregular Samāsa,[2] (*Aluk-Samāsa :—Manasā sṛṣṭā devī = manasā-devī*) which shows that the explanation of her name as "the mind-born of Kaśyapa," for which there appears to be no earlier authoriy than the

1. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Translated by Paṇḍit B. S. Śāstrī and published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat. Vol. ii. Page 28-29.

2. Evidently with the aid of the Sūtra मनसः संज्ञायाम् of Pāṇini 6/3/4.

Brahmavaivartta-Purāṇa, has obtained a footing by the time. The absence of her name in the earlier literature, and the evidences of attempt at explaining away her name in mediæval literature, point to the probability that she is not, at least in this line of development, a goddess with a Vedic and Puranic past, but an assimilation from outside. There certainly was a considerable amount of difference of opinion among the learned persons who attempted to engraft this goddess on Brahmanical traditions,—as a careful study of her legends and Dhyānas show. Evidences that she probably was first identified with Kadru and not with Jaratkāru have already been adduced. Even when the identification with Jaratkāru was established, considerable difference prevailed in working out the details. The following *Dhyāna* makes Swan her vehicle, which shows that she was contemplated as identical with Brahmāṇī or Sarasvatī (Vide—Arch. Surv. Rep. Mayurbhanj, by Mr. N. N. Vasu. pp. xxxviii.)

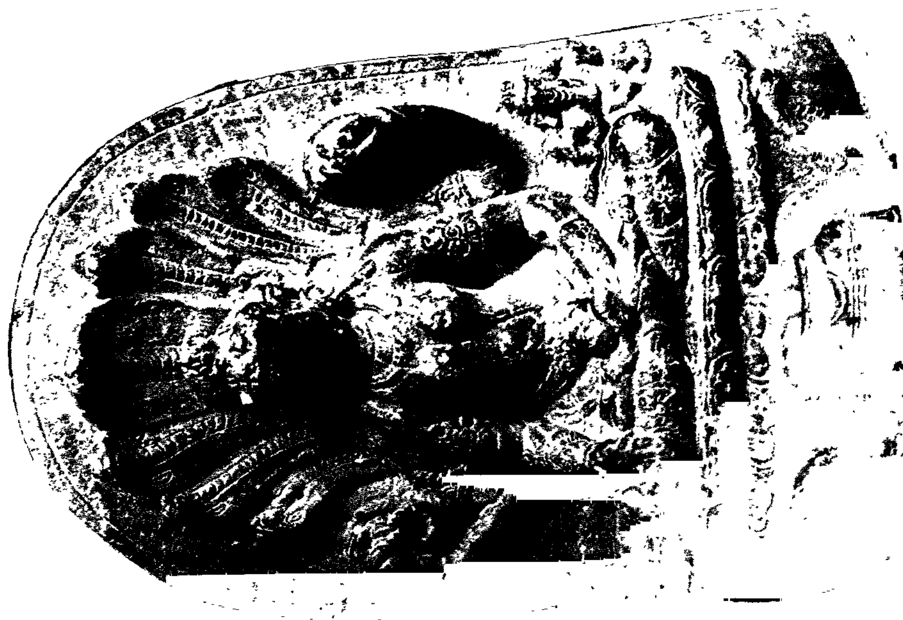
দেবীমম্বামহীনাং শশধরবদনাং চারুকান্তিং বদান্যাং
হংসারূঢ়ামুদারামরুণিতবসনাং সর্ব্বদাং সর্ব্বদৈব ।
স্মেরাস্যাং মণ্ডিতাঙ্গীং কনকমণিগণৈর্নাগরত্নৈরনেকৈ
র্বন্দেঽহং সাষ্টনাগামুরুকুচযুগলাং যোগিনীং কামরূপাম্ ॥

I adore the goddess, the mother of the snakes, who is graceful and generous and whose face is like the moon, who rides on a swan, wears a red garment and is lavish of gifts, always giving everything (asked for) ; who has a smiling face, whose body is decked with gold and gems and many jewels obtained from serpents ; who has prominent breasts, is an anchorite who can take any shape at will, and who is accompanied by eight snakes.

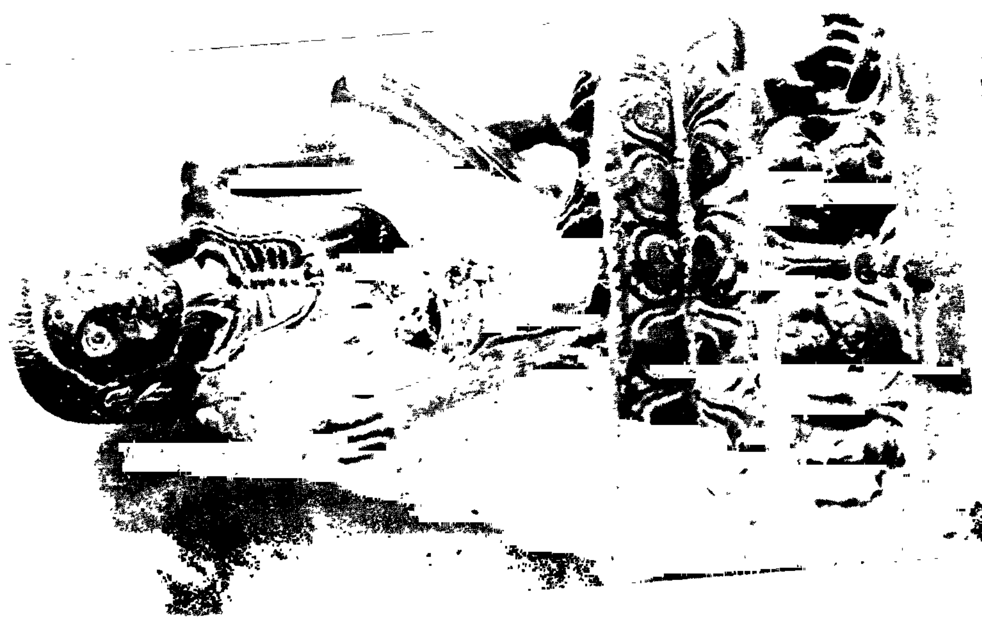
This *Dhyāna* is the one that is commonly recited now-a-days in the ceremony of the worship of Manasā. Its source is unknown. It places no distinctive attribute in the hands of

TO FACE P. 219.

PLATE LXXII.



(b) Manasā. (Indian Museum, Calcutta.)
See page 219.



(a) Danturā. (See page 211.)
(Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta.)

the goddess ; but an image of Manasā in the Indian Museum strangely confirms the conception of Manasā as Sarasvatī, as indicated by the vehicle swan in the above Dhyāna. I refer to image No. 3950 described on page 95 of Bloch's Catalogue. The image shows a goddess in the meditative pose, sitting with legs crossed. A hood of seven serpents is over her head. The two left hands hold Book and Pitcher of Nectar. The two right hands hold Rosary and Boon. On the right is carved a *Liṅga*; on the left is a miniature of Gaṇeśa. A prominent pitcher is placed below the seat of the goddess from which two serpents are coming out and crawling off in opposite directions. The attributes of the goddess are entirely those of Sarasvatī, and the image would certainly have been identified as that of Sarasvatī, had the serpent-hood over the head of the goddess, and the pitcher below her seat with serpents crawling out, been absent.

The identification of Manasā with Sarasvatī is also confirmed by the following *Dhyāna* that Dhanvantari addressed to Manasā (Brahma-vaivartta-Purāṇa. Srī-kṛṣṇa-Janma-khaṇḍam, ch. 51).

চারুচম্পকবর্ণাভাং সর্ব্বাঙ্গস্থমনোহরাম্ ।
ঈষদ্ধাস্তপ্রসন্নাস্যাং শোভিতাং সূক্ষ্মবাসসা ॥
কবরীভারশোভাঢ্যাং রত্নাভরণভূষিতাম্ ।
সর্ব্বাভয়প্রদাং দেবীং ভক্তানুগ্রহকাতরাম্ ॥
সর্ব্ববিদ্যাপ্রদাং শান্তাং সর্ব্ববিদ্যাবিশারদাম্ ।
নাগেন্দ্রবাহিনীং দেবীং ভজে নাগেশ্বরীং পরাম্ ॥

I adore the goddess, the supreme mistress over snakes, whose vehicle is a huge snake. The complexion of her body is like the Champaka flower. She is beautiful in every limb. She has a pleased expression of face marked by a faint smile. She is decked in fine garments and jewelled ornaments. She

*looks beautiful with a sumptuous chignon. She feels with her devotees and protects them from all evil. She is peaceful, is versed in all kinds of knowledge and also imparts them (to her devotees.)**

In the *stotra* following, Manasā is once called daughter of Kaśyapa, and again, distinctly, daughter of Śiva, and the later parentage is upheld in the Bengali ballads that are sung in her honour throughout the country. In these ballads, which probably can lay claim to no Puranic origin, the explanation of her name attempted in the Brahmavaivartta-Purāṇa, that she is called Manasā because she had her origin from the *manas* (mind) of Kaśyapa, is not repeated. In its stead, appears a bland account of how she was fashioned out in the nether regions by an artisan employed by Vāsukī, the king of serpents, from the seed of Siva, which, placed on a lotus leaf, had impetuously travelled down through the stem to the place of Vāsukī. In the *Prakṛti-Khaṇḍam* of the Brahmavaivartta-Purāṇa, Ch. 42, there is a compromise between the two versions of the origin of the goddess. She is there the mind-born of Kaśyapa, but the spiritual daughter of Śiva, who gave her the Supreme Knowledge. But even this spiritual fatherhood of Śiva is undermined by the statement that she was instructed by Śiva himself to go to the holy place Puṣkara and there meditate on the Divine Śrīkṛṣṇa. Thus she became a Vaiṣṇavī, received favours of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu and was first recognised by him.

*The novel and unsettled state of the literature on Manasā is illustrated by an image of the goddess from a Tea-estate near Silghat, Assam. In the above *Dhyāna*, the vehicle of the goddess is denoted by the term *Nāgendra*. Ordinarily it would mean 'a huge snake'. But *Nāga* also means an elephant, and in this image of Manasā from Assam, we find an elephant depicted as the vehicle of the goddess.

Vestiges of these attempts to connect her variously with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva,—the attempts at explaining away her name, the difficulties that, according to the Bengali ballads, this goddess had to surmount before she could establish her worship in this country, are all very remarkable. These, as already noted, point to the probability that she came from outside and had to fight her way into the Brahmanical pantheon and obtain an identification with Jaratkāru.

Prof. Kṣitimohana Sena has drawn our attention[1] to the fact that a snake-goddess called Mañchāmmā or Mother Mañchā is still worshipped among the Telegu and the Canarese-speaking people of Southern India. Stories like the stories of the struggles of Manasā to get recognition as a goddess, are also current in Southern India regarding Ambāvaru, a goddess who appears to have control over snakes. The learned professor therefore suggests that the goddess Mañchā of the Dravidians has obtained in Bengal the semi-sanskritised name of Manasā and appropriated to herself the legends of Amvāvaru in Bengali forms. When we remember that the name does not occur in the earlier grammars and lexicographies, and that the mediæval grammarians and lexicographers had difficulty in explaining this ungrammatical name, we gladly recognise that Prof. Sena has probably found the right origin of the name.

It is, however, necessary to point out here that the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna school had a snake-goddess whom they called Jāṅgulī, meaning literally, the goddess of the wilds. She is a daughter of the Śavaras (*Śavara-Kumārī*) or the wild tribes of India. She is a charmer of snakes and is invoked against snake-bite. She has four arms. She plays

1. *Pravāsī*, 1329 B. S. P. 384—395.

on the lyre by her two normal hands, bestows boon by the extra right hand and holds a white snake in the left.[1] It is always difficult to find out the exact period when a conception found place in a system of religious worship. It can only be said that Jāṅgulī appears to have been a divinity of the aboriginal tribes of India and was given a shape and admitted into the Buddhist Pantheon in a fairly early period. Certain texts declare her to be as old as the Buddha himself and the authorship of the *mantras* for her worship is ascribed to the great teacher. Of course, this may be only another instance of an attempt to give to a recent admission the appearance of a hoary and sacred antiquity. But a daughter of the aboriginal people with something of a divine character and with remedies against snake-bite appears also in the Atharva-Veda, and this fact makes the antiquity of Jāṅgulī less suspicious. A little girl of the Kirātas (wild aboriginal people) in the Atharva-Veda, X—4-14, digs a remedy against snake-bite with golden shovels upon the ridges of the mountain. In X—4-24, possibly this very same girl is called Tāudī and Ghṛtāchī and the devotee takes shelter under her 'poison-spoiling track'.

When we remember that Ghṛtāchī is only another name for Sarasvatī and that Sarasvatī herself is spoken of in one passage in the Atharva-Veda[2] as a destroyer of poison and also take into consideration the fact that Jāṅgulī has the attributes of Sarasvatī, some conclusions begin to take shape. The Vedic goddess Sarasvatī, in one of her aspects, was a destroyer of snake-poison and was often invoked in that

1. Iconographie Bouddhique: Foucher: Vol. II, P. 67—68. Indian Buddhist Iconography by Babu Benoytosh Bhattacharyya: P. 78—80.

2. Atharva-Veda-Saṁhita: Tr. Whitney and Lanman: Vol. I. P. 354. VI—100.

capacity. Sarasvatī, in this aspect, was a girl of the Śavaras. This aspect did not develop in the Brahmanical Pantheon, but the Mahāyāna Buddhists accepted this snake-goddess and called her Jāṅgulī, and did not forget her connection with the Śavaras. The Brahmanical anti-venom Sarasvatī,—the source of Jāṅgulī, was forgotten before the latter's rising popularity.

Manasā appears to have been imported into Bengal from Southern India at the crest of a Brahmanical revival. She quickly outdid Jāṅgulī in popularity. Scholars sought about to find for her a Vedic or Puranic origin, and some actually identified her with Vedic Sarasvatī, the curer of snake-bites. Manasā finally succeeded in absorbing Jāṅgulī within herself. The following *Dhyāna* of Manasā is current in the country, but I am unable to trace it to any original work of rituals.

কান্ত্যা কাঞ্চনসন্নিভাং সুবদনাং পদ্মাননাং শোভনাং
নাগেন্দ্রৈঃ কৃতশেখরাং ফণিময়ীং দিব্যাঙ্গরাগান্বিতাং ।
চার্ব্বঙ্গীং দধতীং প্রসাদমভয়ং নিত্যং করাভ্যাং মুদা
বন্দে শঙ্করপুত্রিকাং বিষহরীং পদ্মোদ্ভবাং জাঙ্গুলীম্ ॥

I adore the lotus-born goddess of the wilds (Jāṅgulī), *the healer of (the effects of) poison, and daughter of Śaṅkara. She is resplendent as gold, has a pleasant face beautiful like the lotus, and has a hood of kings of serpents over her head. Her body, covered with snakes, is smeared with celestial unguents and all her limbs are graceful. She constantly holds in joy Protection and Boon in her two hands.*

This *Dhyāna* is also found on p. 97 of the ritual book for the worship of Dharmma, edited by Paṇḍit N. G. Bandyopādhyāya and published by the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat.*[1]

1. There are slight differences in reading but the version quoted above apears to be the correct one. The last word *Jāṅgulīm* has been printed there as *Jāgunīm*, which gives no meaning and is an evident mistake.

A clear invocation of Jāṅgulī is used here in the worship of Manasā.

The Senas came from Southern India and settled in Bengal in the middle of the 11th century A. D. They very likely favoured the worship of the snake goddess Mañchā, and their rise probably gave an impetus to her popularity. The decline of Buddhism by this time gradually transferred the honours paid to Jāṅgulī to Mañchā, who fast became Manasā at the hands of the Brahmin theologists.

The cult of Manasā is still a very popular cult in Bengal. As already stated, the number of poets who composed songs in her honour is very large. The biographer of Chaitanya states that the worship of Manasā used to be performed during Chaitanya's time (15th century A. D.) with great splendour. Vijaya-Gupta of Phullaśrī, in the Bakarganj district, is the most famous poet of the Manasā song in south-east Bengal. In the introduction to his poem, he throws out a very important hint which serves to measure the antiquity of the Manasā cult in Bengal. He states that the first poet of the Manasā song was the one-eyed Hari-Datta and that Hari-Datta's song was disappearing or becoming pitiably mis-sung in Vijaya-Gupta's time. Yet a poem by Hari-Datta is found incorporated in the published version of Vijaya-Gupta's recension of the Manasā song. Vijaya-Gupta flourished in the 15th century A. D. Even if we allow three centuries for the decay of Hari-Datta's song, he cannot have flourished earlier than the 11th—12th century A. D. The time required for a goddess to be popular enough to have a poet singing her praise, would be about a century. This calculation would point to the 10th—11th century as the period when the Manasā cult first obtained a footing in Aryanised Bengal.

The kernel of the story of the poems in honour of Manasā, is the opposition offered by the merchant-prince Chandra to the introduction of the worship of Manasā. The ladies of his household had already accepted the popular worship, but Chandra was obdurate, and it was only after a stiff contest that an unwilling half-submission was wrung from him. The Chandra kings of East Bengal rose to power towards the middle of the 10th century A. D. The date of Srīchandra Deva, the most powerful prince of the line, may be approximately fixed as 975—1000 A. D., and one feels tempted to suggest that Chandra, the merchant-prince, the unbending opponent of the Manasā cult, the devoted worshipper of Śiva, may have been a member of the family of the Chandra kings of East-Bengal,—may be, he was Śrīchandra Deva himself! In his plate, Śrīchandra Deva is described as a Buddhist, but the reverence of Queen Prabhāvatī, wife of the Buddhist king Deva Khaḍga, who reigned in Samataṭa about three centuries earlier, for the Brahmanical goddess Sarvvāṇī, as revealed in the Deulvāḍī Image Inscription (*supra*, P. 204), shows that orthodox Buddhism, which, during this period, was largely intermixed with Śaiva Tantrikism, sat rather lightly on these ruling chiefs.

The large number of stone images of Manasā of the 10th—12th century, that have been found throughout Bengal, testify to the established character of her cult during the period. It is noteworthy that pots and utensils, with figures of snakes on them, evidently used in the worship of Manasā, were found from the Raghurāmpur excavation (*vide* infra, p. 232—$\frac{4}{12}$, $\frac{4}{13}$). The excavation conducted by the Varendra Research Society of Rajsahi in a part of the large tank at Deopāḍā, from the bank of which was recovered the famous stone inscription of Vijaya Sena Deva, also yielded similar objects, as well as a large number of mediaeval images of Manasā.

The majority of the images of Manasā found in the country, represent her as sitting on a lotus with the right leg pendant. Seven snakes spread their hoods like a canopy over her head and the goddess holds the eighth snake in her left hand. In her right hand she holds a fruit in the *Varada-mudrā.* To her right is represented an emaciated bearded man, while a crowned male figure sits on her left. The marked emaciation of the figure to the right, points him out as Jaratkāru, lit.—one who dried up a fine figure (by the austerity of his devotions). The figure to the left may be that of Āstika, the son of the goddess, but the crown on the head may be an indication that he is to be taken as Vāsukī, the Nāga king, brother of the goddess. In many images, a fine pitcher appears underneath the lotus seat of the goddess. The image of Manasā in the Dacca Museum is in black stone, 20″ in height, and corresponds to the above description. It was obtained from the Dinajpur district by Babu Śarat-śaśī Datta and presented to the Dacca Museum. It should be stated here that the *Snuhi* tree, known in Bengal as *Sij,* is associated in the Sanskrit Texts with the worship of Manasā and is still an indispensable article in her worship.

Some images of Manasā in the Rajsahi Museum have only five snakes over the head of the goddess, e. g., the one catalogued as $\frac{H(e)2}{184}$. But the prescribed number of eight snakes, that appears to be an indispensable feature of a class of images of Manasā, is probably completed by counting the one standing erect to the right, another coiling round the left arm and the third held in the left hand of the goddess.

A remarkable *Dhyāna* of the goddess found quoted in the commentary of Kāśīrāma Vāchaspati on *Tithyādi Tattvam,*



(b) Manasā at Śilghāt
(See page 220.)



(a) Manasā. (Dacca Museum).

by Raghunandana, Section 79,* is given below. A number of images of Manasā found in Bengal conform to this *Dhyāna.*

হেমাম্ভোজনিভাং লসদ্বিষধরালঙ্কারসংশোভিতাম্
স্মেরাস্যাং পরিতো মহোরগগণৈঃ সংসেব্যমানাং সদা।
দেবীমাস্তিকমাতরং শিশুসুতাং আপীনতুঙ্গস্তনীং
হস্তাম্ভোজযুগেন নাগযুগলং সংবিভ্রতীমাশ্রয়ে ॥

I take shelter unto the goddess, the mother of Āstika. She has a young child (on her lap). She shines like the golden lotus. Huge snakes always attend on her on all sides. She has full and prominent bosoms. She holds two snakes in her two hands. She has a smiling countenance and is decorated with the ornaments of shining snakes.

This *Dhyāna* represents the goddess as a four-armed deity. She is to hold a child on her lap and should be holding two snakes with the remaining two hands. It should be noted that this description strongly reminds one of the Buddhist goddess Hāritī. A comparison of some of the images of Manasā that conform to the above *Dhyāna* and those of Hāritī, is an interesting study and may point to another probable source of her origin.†

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* This *Dhyīna* was hunted out for me by my friend Babu Dīneśa Chandra Bhaṭṭāchāryya, M A., lecturer in Sanskrit, Chittagong College. It is to be regretted that Paṇḍit Vāchaspati omits to note the source from which this *Dhyāna* is taken.

† It may be noted that a goddess with a snake in the right hand and a child (possibly a Nāga-child) on her left knee, identified in the Archaeological Survey Report of Mayurbhanj, Intro. P. XXXVIII, as Skanda-ṣaṣṭhī, may, on the strength of the *Dhyāna* quoted and translated above, be identified as *Manasā.* The identification of the images with a child on their lap, illustrated against pages XLVIII and XLIX of the Introduction to the same book, as Gautamī and Śākya-siṁha, may similarly be corrected to *Manasā.* The Nāgas here and there and the *Snuhi* tree on the back, as well as the child on the lap, mark them out as *Manasā.* These images appear to be a probable link between the images of Hāritī and those of Manasā.

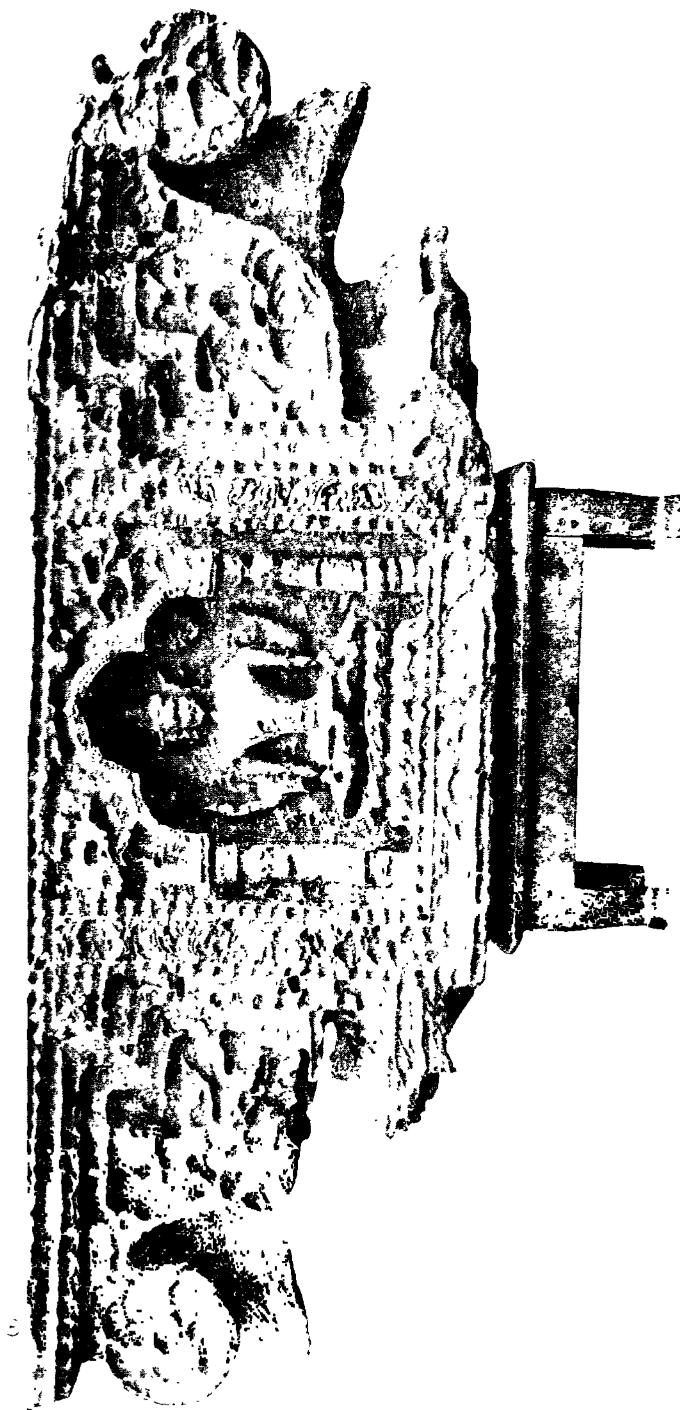
4. MISCELLANEOUS BRAHMANICAL ANTIQUITIES.

$\frac{4}{1}$. A carved wooden capital made from a very solid and substantial block of wood, 4′ 4″ × 1′ 3″ × 1′ 5″. The unusually substantial nature of the wood used may be inferred from the fact, that about nine centuries of immersion in loam has had very little effect upon it. The capital, instead of turning porous and feathery (as is the case with the wooden image of Viṣṇu, *supra*, $\frac{3.\ A.(i)\ a.}{16}$, p. 82), has retained its heaviness to such an extent that one would, on the first impulse, take it to have petrified. Even the parts that look the frailest, are remarkably strong and tough.

In the centre of the piece, a four-armed image of Viṣṇu is seated in *Dhyānāsana* under a trifoil arch supported on a pair of pillars. The original carving is intact on the outlines of the arch, above the head of Viṣṇu, and on two perpendicular bands on either side. Two of the hands of Viṣṇu are placed, one over the other, on his lap. The outlines of the remaining two hands can be distinguished, going up and holding indistinct objects. The arch is flanked on either side by two flying figures. Two other figures similarly flank the image of Viṣṇu and form brackets like those seen on the gates of the Sānchi *Stūpa*. The capital must have been a vigorous piece of carving when entire and was undoubtedly executed in the palmiest days of wood and stone-carving in Bengal.

Recovered from the tank immediately north of the *Deul* at Sonāraṅg, P. S. Taṅgivāḍī, District Dacca, from which the stone steps and the stone pillar described below were also obtained. Presented by Babu Ratneśvara Sena of Sonāraṅg.

 TO FACE P. 228.



Wooden Capital. $\frac{4}{1}$

$\frac{4}{2}$. A monolithic pillar of granite from the *Deul* at Sonāraṅg, 17′ 4½″ in height. This noble monolith, the like of which has not yet been discovered from Lower Bengal, is 2′ square at the base but tapers towards the top, where it is 18¾′ square. The base is square up to 4′ 11½″ and then again at the top to the length of 3′ 1½″. The middle section of 9′ 3½″ is octagonal and is decorated at the base and the top by plain rectangular and triangular arabesques, 1′ 6″ at the base and 1′ 1″ from the top, ending in two raised rings. A space of about 16″ below the upper ring is octagonal, but slightly raised above the level of the main octagonal section. Stones are abundant at the site in which this pillar was found and the temple, in the construction of which this pillar was used, undoubtedly had a good proportion of stone in its structure. Presented by Babu Ratneśvara Sena of Sonāraṅg.

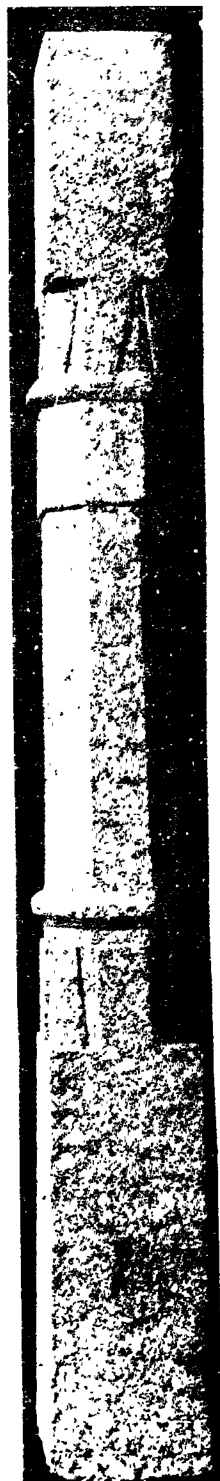
$\frac{4}{3}$. A block of sand-stone cut into steps, from the Sonāraṅg *Deul*, 6′ 4″ × 19″ × 12″. It evidently formed the sill of a doorway, as the socket, exactly at the middle where the bolt used to fit, would indicate. It was recovered from the eastern bank of the tank to the north of the *Deul*, from the bed of which No. 1 above was recovered.

$\frac{4}{4}$. A slab of chlorite stone, 11′ 5″ × 3′ × 10″. It was discovered in 1912 near the *Deul* at Joḍādeul (P. S. Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca) about 10′ below the surface of the soil, lying across the road that runs from Munsiganj through Rāmpāl to the brick bridge at *Ā*bdullāpur and beyond, near the point where a by-path starts from the main road towards the *Deul*. Mr. H. E. Stapleton, with the help of the then Executive Engineer, P. W. D., removed the stone in a boat to Companybag, in the eastern suburb of Dacca. From that place it was removed to the Dacca Museum in 1916.

This remarkable stone slab is rough on one side and quarry-dressed by a series of thick and more or less parallel lines running breadth-wise. Slabs like the present one have often been discovered from the vicinity of the *Deuls* of Vikrampur and the existence of some similar slabs are known, buried beneath the earth, near the *Deul* at Devasār, east of Joḍādeul. An examination of the backs of the images in black chlorite stone, reveals the interesting fact that similar parallel lines of quarry-dressing are to be found there on almost all of them. These slabs were evidently imported into Bengal from the Rajmahal Hills, their nearest quarry, for the purpose of the manufacture of images. The quarry-dressed side was left untouched, while the rough side was carved into images in relief.

$\frac{4}{5}$. A railing of chlorite stone, 3′1″×1′1″×3½″, discovered from Deobhog, P. S. Pālaṅg, Dt. Faridpur, along with the stone bull,—*supra*, p 143.

The railing is divided into three compartments. Each compartment is occupied by a double-sided image in round in *Atibhaṅga* pose, and exhibiting exactly the same features on either side. The figure in the middle is pot-bellied, bearded, naked but for a strip of covering between the thighs, and with the hair on the head streaming upwards. He carries a Rosary in the right hand and a Trident in the left. The figure in the right compartment wears ornaments, crown, rich cloth and top-boots. He has a huge dagger in the right hand and a lotus in the left. The figure in the left compartment is also bearded and naked like the one in the middle compartment, but wears *Jaṭāmukuṭa* on the head. He has four arms and four faces (only three of the faces are being visible). The hands hold clock-wise,—1. Staff, with flames shooting up from its head. 2. Rosary. 3. A sacrificial



(a) The Stone pillar, $\frac{1}{2}$.



(b) The Stone slab, $\frac{1}{1}$



(c) The Stone steps, $\frac{1}{3}$

instrument. 4. *Kamaṇḍalu* or a vase. The position of the figures and their attributes are, of course, all reversed when viewed from the opposite side. The last figure, as described above, can be recognised as Brahmā without hesitation. The figure in the middle can also similarly be identified as Śiva. One feels tempted to identify the remainig figure as Viṣṇu, and thus the the group itself as a representation of the Brahmanical Trinity—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva ; but the image of Viṣṇu with a sword in his hand is very rare. The top-boots and the lotus in one of the hands would, however, suggest that the figure is a representation of Sūryya, who is only Viṣṇu in another form. Sūryya is always represented with daggers in his belt but the transference of the dagger from the belt to one of the hands can hardly be explained.

The figure of Brahmā is flanked by the representations of two pillars. It is interesting to note that the details of these pillars have general resemblance to those on the monolith described above.

Two knobs project from the top, as well as from the bottom, showing that the piece was attached to some other structure.

$\frac{4}{6}$. An image-rest of chlorite stone, 1′ 2″ × 12″ × 5″. These image-rests are often discovered along with images. There is always a socket in the middle meant for receiving the conical shaft projecting from the bottom of an image.

$\frac{4}{7}$. An image-rest of chlorite stone, 14″ × 8″ × 2½″. From the *Deul* at Dhipur, P. S. Taṅgivāḍī, Dt. Dacca.

$\frac{4}{8}$. A piece of wood from the above *Deul*, 12′ 11″ × 8″ × 3½″, carved with lotus leaves. It possibly formed part of a wooden car.

$\frac{4}{9}$. Ditto, from the same *Deul*, 4′ 9″ × 9″ × 4″, carved with right-angled carvings.

$\frac{4}{10}$. A dagger from Vajrayoginī, 1″ 8″. The hilt is covered by a coating of brass, with artistic designs on it. Presented by Babu Kumudabandhu Vasu.

$\frac{4}{11}$. A steel dagger-handle, 9″, inlaid in beautiful designs with the purest gold. Found at Pañchasār, near Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca.

The objects described below are all from the Raghurāmpur Excavation.

$\frac{4}{12}$. An earthen pitcher, with the figures of snakes on it, probably used in the worship of Manasā. 12″×11″.

$\frac{4}{13}$. An earthen bell, surmounted by a snake. $8\frac{1}{2}$″×$4\frac{1}{2}$″.

$\frac{4}{14}$. A brass stand, artistically finished. 4″×$2\frac{1}{4}$″.

$\frac{4}{15-18}$. Four earthen pots ; some of them have retained the original paint on them.

$\frac{4}{19}$. An earthen casket with closed lid, perforated by two holes, 3″.

$\frac{4}{20}$. A stone casket, 4″×3″. $\frac{4}{21}$. A shovel of iron, 2′ 8″.

$\frac{4}{22}$. A die of ivory, $2\frac{1}{2}$″. The arrangement of the spots is peculiar. The modern die contains 1, 2, 4 and 6 spots. This die contains 7, 8, 12 and 16 spots on its four faces.

$\frac{4}{23}$. An iron tong, looks like a tuning fork, 4″.

$\frac{4}{24}$. A plate of bell-metal. Dmt. 1′3″.

The following articles were discovered from the excavation at the *Deul* at Dhipur.

$\frac{4}{25}$. An earthen vessel. Dmt. 6″.

$\frac{4}{26}$. A beautiful narrow-necked bottle of earth, $3\frac{1}{2}$″.

$\frac{7}{27}$. A heap of cowries.

ERRATA.

Page.	*Line.*	*Incorrect.*	*Correct.*
6	17	Rajabhaṭṭa	Rājabhaṭṭa
7	5	Vajrapṇi Bodhisattva	Heruka
7	6	$\frac{\text{I. A. (ii) c}}{\text{I}}$	$\frac{\text{I. A. (iv) b}}{\text{I}}$
9	15	Budhist	Buddhist
13	4	*Chuṇḍā*	*Chundā*
30	16	*Uṣñiṣa*	*Uṣṇiṣa*
33	5	Munshigaj	Munsiganj
33	6	Vaikuntha	Vaikuṇṭha
33	20	Viṣñu	Viṣṇu
34	10	Containg	Containing
36	5	কপালমালালস্কৃত	কপালমালাক্ষোভ্যালঙ্কৃত
54	24, 26	Bhṛkutī	Bhṛkuṭī
55	25	"	"
56	4	"	"
68	4	11th century	7th—8th century
76	23	Visnu	Viṣṇu
117	9	Śkull	Skull
128	16, 28	Aliṅgana-	Āliṅgana-
129	22	"	"
147	10	hod	pod
147	21	Abdullāpur	Ābdullāpur
153	29	Aṅgirasas	Āṅgirasas

GENERAL INDEX.

[*N. B. The Geographical names are printed in italics*].

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ADDENDA.

P. 24. Image of Vajrasattva. Since presented to the Dacca Museum by Babu Vīreśvara Vandyopādhyāya, son of the finder.

P. 37. Insert a new section—1. A. (iv) c. **Hevajra.**

Images of Hevjra are very rare, but there is no doubt that the god attained considerable popularity among the Mahāyāna Buddhists of the 12th and 13th centuries A. D. The Mongol emperor Kublai Khan is said to have been conversant with Hevajra Tantra even before he became a convert to Buddhism. Aśoka Challa, king of Gārwāl and Kumāyun towards the middle of the 13th century A. D., is described as a great devotee of Hevajra in his Buddha Gayā inscription, dated in the year 1276 A. D. (74th *Atīta Rājya* year of Lakṣmaṇa Sena: Epigraphia Indica. Vol. XII., P. 30).

The image of Hevajra described below is probably the first of its kind discovered in Bengal. It was dug out in a village of the Dharmmanagara sud-division of the Tippera State. The plains of Dharmmanagara merge in the north in the plains of the district of Sylhet and possibly, the image found its way to Dharmmanagara through the latter country. The *Octo alloy* Lokanātha from Sylhet (P. 25. Plate IV) may be remembered in this connection.

I am unable to obtain a copy of Hevajra Tantra to quote the exact *sādhanā* of the deity. Getty, in her "Gods of Northern Buddhism", P. 125, gives the following account of Hevajra :—

"Hevajra is represented with eight heads, sixteen arms, and four legs.........The heads, however, may be disposed in two tiers of three with a head on the top. In this form, there are only seven heads."

"All the sixteen hands hold skull-cups. In those at the right are figures of animals,—an elephant, a horse, a mule, a bull, a camel, a man, a deer and a cat. In the skull-cups held by the left hands are personages which, according to Grunwedel, are Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, Chandra, Sūryya, Kāma, Basudhārā and a terrestrial god."

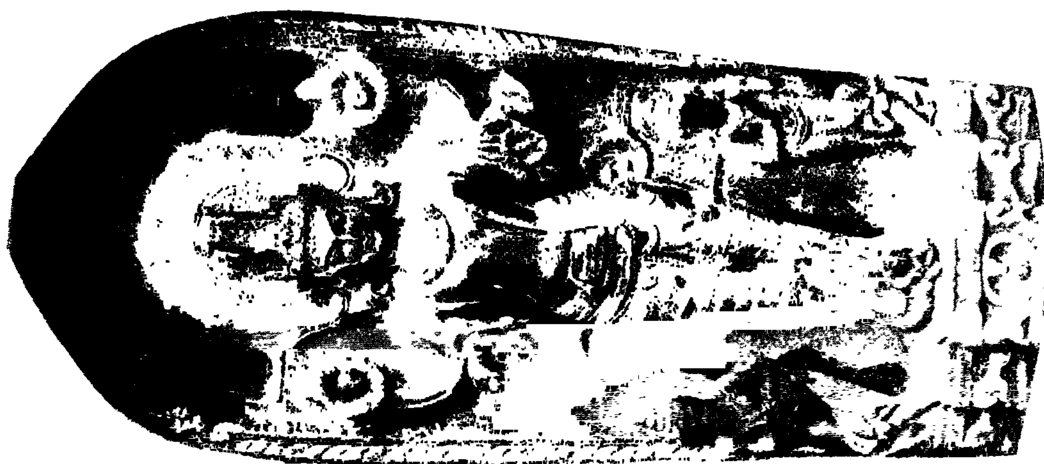
"Two of the legs step to the right on human beings, while the two legs at the back are in dancing position."



(a) Hevajra from Dharmmanagar.



(b) Tārā from Sukhavāspur.



(b) Sūryya in the Dacca Collectorate compound.



(a) Brass Stand, $\frac{1}{4}$

The present image is 16 inches in length and 7 inches broad. It was gilt over with gold leaf, which still clings in places. The image is much corroded and five of the left hands of the god have lost their palms. Of the objects held in the other hands, the skulll cups can all be distinguished. A human figure on the topmost left hand and figures of two animals in two of the right hands can also be recognised. There is however this difference with Getty's description that the front legs are in dancing position and the back legs stride on human beings.

Some additional features may also be noticed.

The Dhyānī Buddha Vairochana is represented at the top, sitting inside a temple, with a tall spire formed of superimposed circular bands. Eight goddesses dancing in *arddhaparyyaṅka* like Hevajra himself and also wearing garlands of severed heads like him, are placed in eight directions round the god. All of them have the right hand raised. Below is a list of objects held by each in two hands, beginning with the goddess directly at the bottom and turning clockwise.

	RIGHT.	LEFT.
1.	Knife	Elephant's tusk ?
2.	Sword	A discus with handle.
3.	Kettle drum	Skull-cup.
4.	Discus	Plough.
5.	Sword	Skull.
6.	Indistinct	Skull.
7.	Serpent	Skull.
8.	A bunch of flowers	Axe.

Inside the lotus which is placed like a halo behind the head of the god, a circular piece of crystal is placed.

There is an inscription at the base which goes round the pedestal and covers its entire girth, leaving only a small gap at the back. The letters appear to be of the 11th—12th century A. D. and the inscription undoubtedly records the name of a king during whose reign the image was consecrated. But it will not be possible to read it complete-y before the image is chemically cleaned.

The image is at present in the custody of the Officer in Charge, Rājmālā Office, Tippera State.

P. 45. Under Mārīchī, add : –

4. Image of Mārīchī at Amiśāpāḍā, District Noākhāli, worshipped under the name of Vārāhī. She was the patron goddess of the kings or Bhuluā (old name of the Noākhāli Dt.) who worshipped this Buddhist deity probably in ignorance of the fact that it belonged to the Buddhist faith. The Image is in black stone and is about 40 inches in height. A crack divides it into two unequal portions. The five Dhyānī Buddhas with Vairochana in the centre are placed above the head of the goddess. Design of the terraced spire of a Chaitya appears at the top.

P. 58. Add :—$\frac{\text{1. B. (v) a}}{4}$ A miniature image of Śyāmā Tārā in *Octo-alloy*, 3 inches, from Sukhabāspur, P. S. Munsigañj, Dt. Dacca.

P. 61. Mahāpratisarā. Since presented to the Dacca Museum, along with the image of Viṣṇu ($\frac{\text{3. A. (i) a}}{12}$) described on page 81 and the beautiful double-sided image of Garuḍa ($\frac{\text{3. A. (i) e}}{2}$) described on page 109. For details of presentation, please see p. 81.

P. 68. No. 2. The script of the clay seal from Sābhār, appears on re-examination, to be much earlier than the 11th century of the Christian Era. Probably 7th—8th century A. D. would be a more probable ascription.

P. 109. Image of Garuḍa from Pañchasār. For a small illustration of this beautiful image, which is distinguished by that soft and graceful modelling so peculiar to Bengal sculpture, please see Ann. Rep. A. S. I. 1924-25. Pl. XXXVIII, b. It has since been sold to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

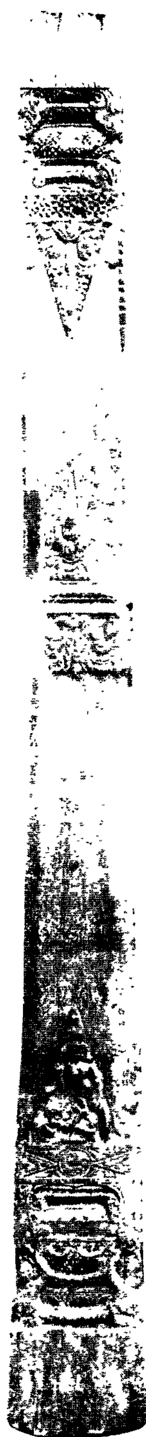
P. 130. Aliṅgana-mūrtti No. 7 at Keoār. It has since been presented to the Dacca Museum by Babu Mathurā Mohana Chaudhuri.

P. 143. Inscription on the Gaurī-paṭṭa. The complete reading is "*De (ya) Dharmyo' yam Achāryyaprathama-Rāśi-Bhadrasya*". *i. e.* This is the religious gift of the head-priest Rāśibhadra.

P. 170. Image No. 3. The image was actually found not at Nāhāpāḍā, but at Rāmsing, south of the great tank at Rāmpāl.

P. 172. *Octo-alloy* image of the sun-god from Deulvāḍī. This remarkable image has since been acquired for the Dacca Museum.

Plate LXXVII.



Wooden pillar from Rāmpāl, No. 1.



No. 1.



No. 3.



Face No. 2.

PLATE LXXVIII.



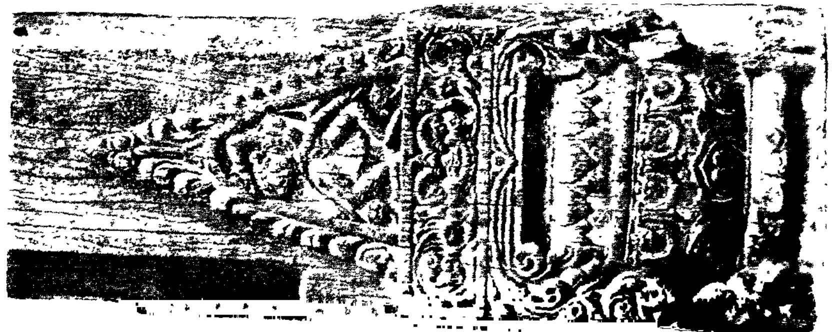
Wooden pillar from Rāmpāl, No. 2.



Face IV.



Face III.



Face II.

P. 173, Image No. 3. The image of the sun-god from Rājair has since been obtained for the Dacca Museum.

P. 173. After No. 4 Image of the sungod, add the following :—

5. Image of the sun-god in black stone, about 5′ in height found in the vicinity of Rāmpāl and now preserved by the road-side at Firingibazar (Plate LXI, b). A very well-preserved image which has lost nothing except the figure of Uṣā at the front. The 11 Ādityas are represented. The *Kañchuka* appears like a knot on the breast.

6. Image of the sungod in black stone found somewhere in Rāmpāl and now preserved in the Dacca Collectorate Compound. It is also a very well-preserved image. Note that of the three wives of the sun-god, only Uṣā at her usual place at the front is represented. Chhāyā and Nikṣubhā are absent. Two vessels are representd on either side of the halo round the head of the god, with flames coming out from them. (Plate LXXVI, b).

P. 201. After $\frac{3. B. (ii) c}{2}$, add :—

$\frac{3. B. (ii) c}{3.}$ Image of Gaurī in black stone, about 2′ in height, from Arial, P. S. Taṅgivāḍī, Dt. Dacca. There is a *Liṅga* near the upper right hand, but not actually held by it and thus the image has been classified as Gaurī. Presented by Mrs. Surendra-Vinodinī Pāl of Śiāldi, Dt. Dacca.

The image is well-proportioned and has a pleasant face, which reminds one of Javanese sculptures. (Plate LXVIII. b.)

P. 204. For the text of the inscription on the Sarvvāṇī from Deulvāḍī, see Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII. P. 359.

P. 232. Add :—

$\frac{7}{28}$. $\frac{7}{29}$. Two carved square wooden pillars from the southern end of the great tank at Rāmpāl found and presented by Shaikh Abdul Ghani and Abdul Rahaman of the locality. 9′ 5″ × 11″ × 11″. The pillars are carved at the top, middle and base, but the patterns on the two pillars are not identical. This would suggest that they are not a pair but two odd ones of perhaps two different pairs.

On face I of the base of Pillar No. 1, a goddess with a short sword in her right hand is represented fighting a demon. On face II, a prince is seen sitting under a tree in a dejected mood with the head resting

on the right hand. His bow and arrow are seen thrown in neglect on the ground. Face III depicts a camel. Face IV is occupied by the erotic figure of an ascetic and a deer, which, taken together with the figure of the dejected prince on face II, would suggest the famous story of Prince Pāṇḍu in the Mahābhārata.

The figures of dwarfish Gaṇas appear at the bottom, one in each corner.

Face I of the base of pillar No. 2 is occupied by a well-carved *Krittimukha*. Face II is occupied by a dancing female figure. On face III, two ladies are shown attempting to shoot at birds with the string-side of the bow turned towards them ! Some foliage is carved on face IV.

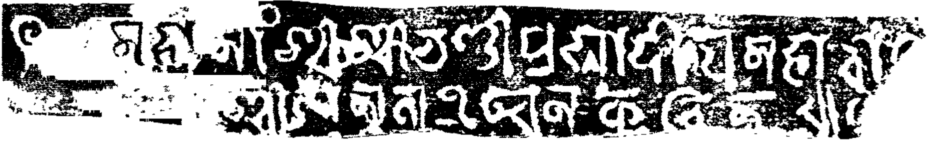
7/30. A massive carved wooden lintel, 10′ 10″ × 8″ × 9″. The door of the frame of which this was the top-piece, was 8′ 7″ wide. This lintel was recovered from the loam of a tank just below the ruins of a Pre-Muhammadan temple at the village of Nāṭeśvar in Vikrampur, Dt. Dacca. The design is the old familiar one, so often met with on stone door-frames of the period, of a pair of cobras intertwined and raising their hoods. The execution, though in low relief, is very fine and is so well-preserved that shallow carvings like the scales of the cobras are even now distinct.

Plate LXXIX.





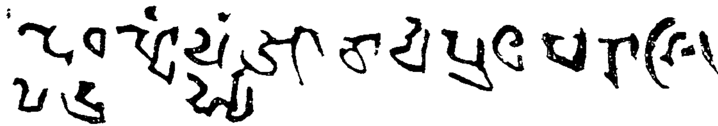
Inscriptions on Lokanātha, $\frac{\text{I. A (ii) a.}}{2}$. P. 25.



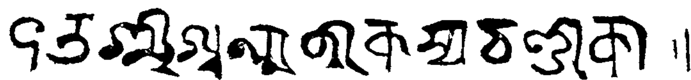
Inscription on Mañju-Śrī. P. 28.



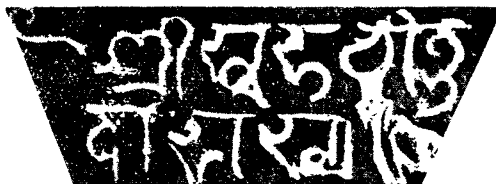
Inscription on Śyāmā-Tārā. P. 57.



Inscription on the Gaurīpaṭṭa. P. 143.



Inscription on Mahiṣamarddinī, at Dhāmrāi. P. 196.



Inscription on Sun-god, $\frac{\text{3 A (iii) a.}}{3}$. P. 170.